

AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 5. No. 2; JUNE 1946

IN MEMORY OF CARL MEINHOF

African Studies pays tribute to the memory of the greatest student of African languages and to the man whose name will ever be remembered as the greatest hitherto in the study of Comparative Bantu Philology. News of the death of Carl Meinhof has only recently reached us; but we understand that he died in Hamburg in April 1944, and his wife a few months later.

Carl Meinhof¹ was born on 23 July 1857 and was in his eighty-ninth year. He continued to contribute to his journal, the *Zeitschrift Für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, to the end, the March 1944 number of which, recently to hand, contains a notice written by him.

We are glad to be able to publish in this number of *African Studies* an appraisal of Meinhof's linguistic contribution from the pen of Professor G. P. Lestrade, and personal tributes from three of his students, Dr. W. M. Eiselen, Professor B. I. C. van Eeden and the Rev. W. Bourquin.

C. M. Doke.

MEINHOF'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

(1) By G. P. LESTRADE

It would be extremely difficult to overestimate the value of the work done by Meinhof in the field of African linguistics. In its combination of quantity and quality, of range and depth, it holds a unique place. In the course of his fortunately long career—though the life of a man

¹ For some biographical detail see *African Studies*, Vol. 2 (1943) pp. 56-59.

such as he must, to his friends and admirers, always seem too short—this great scholar engaged in the most numerous and varied activities for the promotion of the science which he had made his life's work, and with which his name must always remain prominently and gratefully associated. In his extensive researches and publications—kept up, we know, until the very eve of the latest world war, and continued, we may feel sure, during that war as it was during the previous one—he penetrated into every corner of the African linguistic field, and made, besides, more than one contribution of value to African studies other than linguistic, and to linguistic studies other than African. In his work as a teacher and guide of others interested in African languages and allied subjects, he gathered round him, both in his own school in Hamburg, and in places geographically far removed from that Mecca of the African linguist, an ever-growing band of pupils and collaborators, whom he inspired, stimulated, and in every way aided in the quest for knowledge of the African and his tongues; and, with Meinhof at its head, and as its chief forum the journal which he founded as the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* (renamed the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* when Germany had lost her colonies), the Hamburg school took and long retained the lead in African linguistic science, and, to say the very least, remained unquestionably in the very front rank when other schools of African languages became active elsewhere. Last but certainly not least, Meinhof was among the earliest and the greatest protagonists for the recognition of the importance

of the study of African languages. Right from the days when none was doing more than he to turn the world's somewhat inchoate body of knowledge concerning African speech into a science, down to the time when it was vouchsafed to him to see African linguistics an acknowledged academic discipline and to know himself an international figure therein, Meinhof fought for a realization of the value of African language-study, both from the practical angle of the part it can and must play in the government and administration of Africa, and from the theoretical-contribution it could and should make to the world's understanding of the nature of human speech in general.

South Africa, fortunately for itself, is able to count among its linguists several of Meinhof's former pupils and collaborators; and some of these are contributing elsewhere in the present number of this journal, articles of a more personal nature on the man whose memory every Africanist must honour. In the remainder of the present article an attempt will be made only to give some appreciation, however sketchy and otherwise inadequate, of the significance of Meinhof's work—and, moreover, of only one part of that work, namely such of his publications as the writer has had access to.

Meinhof's work on the Bantu languages may perhaps be considered as his greatest contribution to African linguistics; and of this work perhaps the most important part was in the fields of phonetics, phonology and morphology, especially on the comparative side. The sounds of such Bantu languages as he took for study were subjected by him to finer and deeper analysis than, in most instances, had been the case before; and in transcribing them uniformly in the accurate system of phonetic representation which he had taken over from the great Orientalist Lepsius, but which he had extended and adapted to meet the special problems of African phonetics, he laid the best if not indeed the only foundation for comparative phonetic and phonological studies. Again it was he who, having determined with accuracy and upon a comparative basis the existing sounds of Bantu languages of sample value as regards

number and variety, subjected those sounds to enquiry of a more thoroughgoing kind than had ever been undertaken before, with a view to determining the laws that had determined the nature of these existing sounds, and the more original sounds from which they had in all probability been evolved. The results of this analysis were, *inter alia*, the discovery of more and wider-reaching special and general phonological laws, and the obtaining of more extensive and deeper insight into the phonetic structure of the hypothetical original Bantu parent-language, than had ever been done before. The data upon which Meinhof worked in this connection, and the conclusions he reached in this aspect of his labours, were embodied, on the one hand, in special studies of goodly number and range of individual Bantu languages (among which, in the South African area, Northern Sotho, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu found a place); and, on the other hand, in what many would regard as Meinhof's *magnum opus*, the *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*. This first saw the light in 1899; a second revised and improved edition was issued in 1910; and an English version, again revised, and also enlarged, appeared in 1932. This book has become an indispensable *vademecum* for the comparative Bantuist: Meinhof's methodological apparatus, particularly the framework of his Ur-Bantu, forms an invaluable system of reference for all work in the comparative philology of these languages; the demonstration of the use of this apparatus in the hands of the master-craftsman is a classic in the literature of the subject; and the results he presents are fundamental.

Meinhof's contributions to our knowledge of Bantu morphology are second in importance only to his work on the phonetics and phonology of this language-family. Even in primarily phonological publications, such as the *Grundriss*, and similar studies of individual Bantu languages not dealt with in that work, a considerable amount of morphological material is to be found; and the morphological side is predominant in Meinhof's introductory practical manuals for the study of certain Bantu languages. In addition to such special studies, there appeared in 1906 another

comparative work, the *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*, a worthy pendant to the *Grundriss*. In his morphological work, as indeed in his phonological, Meinhof was able to profit by the labours of others, notably Bleek, the "Father of Bantu Philology"; but, with more and better information upon which to draw, with better techniques at his disposal, and perhaps also because he was endowed with better linguistic insight, he improved enormously upon Bleek's results, as far as these went; and he was also able to go a great deal further than Bleek had done. It may well be that some of Meinhof's views regarding the morphology of the Bantu languages, particularly as to the classification of certain parts of speech and as to the nature of certain formative elements, will be superseded by those of a younger school of grammarians, just as a number of his own displaced in their time certain of the more old-fashioned concepts adhered to by Bleek and other of his predecessors. But the part Meinhof played in the development of modern ideas regarding the nature of Bantu grammar was of first-rate significance, and much of his work in this connection seems likely to live on in the very form in which he cast it.

Until the number of Bantu languages concerning which there is at least some approach to an adequate amount of information is very many times greater than at present, and until, moreover, the science of linguistics in general, and of Bantu linguistics in particular has evolved more certain and more widely-accepted techniques for the purpose than has hitherto been the case, questions concerning the genealogical classification of the Bantu tongues can be answered only very imperfectly and with the utmost reserve. The difficulties in the way of an answer to the question of the origin of these languages are even greater, especially when it is remembered that even in the case of language-families about which incomparably more information is available than we have about the Bantu, there is no sort of finality regarding their ultimate origins. Meinhof realized to the full the hazardous though tantalizing nature of such problems, and their study does not occupy a great place in his work. But he did not avoid

them altogether; and his answers, modestly-couched as they are, would appear to be based on surer ground than those vouchsafed in some other quarters. In particular, his theory of a Sudanic substratum of vocabulary has had a reasonably satisfactory amount of corroboration. As to the origin of Bantu morphological phenomena, Meinhof's suggestion of the significance of Ful in this regard still remains the most plausible of the theories that have been advanced.

As has been indicated earlier, Meinhof by no means confined himself to the Bantu tongues. Indeed, he touched at one time or other upon all the indigenous language-families of the continent. In this connection, his contributions to our scanty knowledge concerning Bushman, and to the still relatively slender stock of information regarding Hottentot, are of special interest to us in South Africa. In the former field, we are indebted to him for a competent outline-grammar of one Bushman dialect, and a stimulating article on the relationship between Bushman and Hottentot. In the latter he gave us, *inter alia*, a full-length text-book of Nama and a thoroughgoing treatise on Korana (the latter one of the fruits of his only visit to our country), besides other material on Hottentot scattered through his other work, notably the chapter on Nama in his comparative study of the Hamitic languages, and the Hottentot material in his study of Xhosa. So far there has been no notable advance on Meinhof's work in the Hottentot field, save in the one aspect of phonetics.

The group of African languages to the study of which, next to the Bantu, Meinhof made the most important of his contributions was the Hamitic. In 1912 there appeared *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, in which, for the first time, it was shown that these languages, which previous investigators had at the most claimed as constituting a group, actually formed a family, and in which the characteristics of that family were traced in a masterly manner. The wide and sparse geographical distribution of the members of this family, from Morocco to Somaliland and from Algeria to the Cape, and the remarkable divergences that exist between them in many respects, contrasting sharply with the obvious uniformity of the Bantu languages, made

the proof of their underlying unity a particularly difficult one, and it is not the least of Meinhof's achievements that he should have been able to wrest that proof so convincingly from the stubborn material. Meinhof's work on the Hamitic languages has, besides its importance for the family with which it primarily deals, however, certain very special significance in regard to at least two other families, the Bantu and the Semitic. As far as the first of these latter is concerned, there is offered to us here a body of evidence for the likelihood of a genealogical affinity between Bantu and Hamitic, through the twin demonstration that Ful, although constituting a very special case, must be included in the Hamitic family, and that, at the same time, it exhibits features which cannot be overlooked in any attempt to explain certain phenomena in the Bantu family. With regard to Semitic, Meinhof has, in several fundamental articles and in the last known to us of his books pointed out the remarkable parallels between the Hamitic and the Semitic families, and shown how a number of formerly obscure problems encountered in the latter could be explained in terms of phenomena met with in the former. His familiarity with Hebrew and Arabic lent still further weight to the authority of his evidence on such matters.

Though he left the field of Sudanic languages mainly to Westermann and other investigators, he himself in no way neglected these tongues. Both before and after the publication of Westermann's *Die Sudansprachen*, Meinhof engaged in investigations and put out publications concerning this family also. The fruits of these researches are contained partly in his books and articles dealing more generally with African linguistic problems, and partly in a number of special studies, pride of place among these latter being held by the series published in the *Zeitschrift* during the years 1916-20 on various languages of the Egyptian Sudan. The mass of detail which these publications add to our knowledge of Sudanic, and the insight they afford us into its nature, afford convincing proof of the author's high competence as a Sudanist.

Besides all the above named more or less specialized work, Meinhof also produced various lin-

guistic studies of a more general kind. Some of these were primarily intended for the more advanced scholar, others for the more modest student or even the interested layman. Of the latter, the best-known and perhaps also the best is the book *Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika*, later also issued in English as *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*. Scholarly and yet not pedantic, full of meat yet easily digestible, this work has served many a beginner as a first and most pleasant introduction to his subject; and not a few Africanists of longer standing have refreshed their memories and synthesized their professional knowledge by a perusal of its pages. In this latter connection also mention should be made of the articles Meinhof was wont to publish from time to time, summing up the progress made in African linguistics, and indicating some of the main problems yet to be tackled. To more than one investigator the sober guidance together with the explicit or implicit challenge contained in these articles rendered stimulating and valuable service in their work.

Meinhof, as we have seen, was instrumental in demonstrating the significance of the study of one of the African language-families for the solution of problems arising in one of the great language-families outside Africa. In the course of his career he took more than one opportunity of pointing out to philologists in general the importance of African linguistic phenomena as regards the science of language at large. Phonetic, phonological and morphological features of African tongues were each taken by him in turn to show that the general linguist cannot now afford to be ignorant of the African language-field. Finally, he summed up the experience of a lifetime spent in the study of language in *Die Entstehung flektierender Sprachen*, which appeared towards the close of his active career, in which he gave proof, if any were necessary, that he was not only a great African linguist, but also a great linguist, without any limiting qualification.

That the study of African languages has aspects and values other than theoretical, and is of importance for disciplines other than the philological, was a frequent theme with Meinhof. In dealing

with questions of nomic orthography, in discussing the development of these languages of primitives so that they might express those new ideas which the impact of a higher culture had brought into their sphere, in assessing the relative factors in the linguistic situation in an area, he on more than one occasion showed his sound sense of the practical. Again, in insisting, with apt proof, upon the theoretical significance of language-study for allied disciplines such as anthropology, and upon its practical necessity in colonial administration, he rendered valuable service in obtaining for the science at least some measure of the recognition it deserves in those other fields.

Great as was Meinhof's output in the linguistic field, even this does not exhaust the sum of his publications. He found time and energy for work in other spheres of knowledge as well. Thus, besides occasional articles, we have from his pen several volumes in which he gathered together material that had come his way on non-linguistic topics: in folklore, *Die Dichtung der Afrikaner* and *Afrikanische Märchen*, in primitive law his *Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche*, in primitive religion his *Afrikanische Religionen*. He himself would have been the first to insist that these were but *parerga* to his greater work, and that they must be regarded only as such. But, as with the *Sprachforschung* so with these books, many a beginner could do worse than derive his first notions concerning their respective subjects from them, many an advanced scholar has read them with profit.

This all too brief and sketchy article cannot hope to have done anything like justice to its theme; it can hope only that it may have given, to those who do not know Meinhof's work well, some idea of the volume, the variety, and the supreme importance of that work; and that it may be adjudged, by those with better knowledge of the subject, a not entirely inadequate tribute to the great figure whose passing all Africanists will profoundly regret.

(ii) DEUR W. M. EISELEN

Toe ek in 1921 as student na Hamburg gegaan het om daar Afrikanistiek te studeer het ek al

Meinhof se *Tautlehre* en *Grundzüge* geken. Van hierdie standaard werke het Prof. Dempwolff, een van Meinhof se ywerigste medewerkers, my eenmaal vertel dat dit hom by eerste kennismaking daarmee heeltemal onverteerbaar gelyk het. My eie eerste reaksie was nie veel anders nie en die denkbeeld wat ek op grond daarvan van die skrywer gevorm het was dan ook dienooreenkomstig. Ek het verwag dat die man aan wie se voete ek sou gaan sit 'n studeerkamermens by uitstek sou wees, 'n veeltalige boekwurm sonder veel belangstelling vir ander lewensgebiede maar 'n meester in sy eie vak.

Deur 'n gelukkige toeval was 'n oom van my erg bevriend met Meinhof met die gevolg dat hy my persoonlik by die spoorwegstasie kom ontvang en dadelik na sy huis saamgenem het. Dit is toe ook gereël dat ek by hom sou inwoon vir die eerste paar maande totdat 'n geskikte stel kamers vir my kon gevind word. So het ek ruim geleentheid gehad om my leermeester beide as geleerde, en as mens te leer ken en om uit te vind hoe volkome verkeerd my eerste indruk was.

Ek was vir Meinhof 'n interessante proefpersoon omdat ek Afrikaans en Sesotho kon praat. Van laasgenoemde taal het hy al heelwat geweet maar Afrikaans was vir hom 'n *terra incognita*. Met die grootste ywer het hy my begin uitvra in verband met Afrikaanse klank—en vormleer. Ek was die leermeester en hy 'n veelbelowende leerling want na 'n paar dae was hy al instaat om Langenhoven se *Sonde met die Bur* met min hulp en groot behae te lees. Neelsie se humor het so reg in sy smaak geval. Hy het hom verlustig in die snaakse kaskenades en na aanleiding daarvan het hy dan self allerlei koddige staaltjies in Platduits vertel. Wat my dadelik getref het was dat hierdie man met sy vlugge begrip van vreemde vormleer en sy fyn aanvoeling van vreemde taaleie hoegenaamd nie in staat was om vreemde klanke uit te spreek nie. Tydens my verblyf in Hamburg het daar op 'n goeie dag in een van die plaaslike koerante 'n artikel oor Alice Werner, die bekende Londense Afrikanis en vroeër leerling van Meinhof, verskyn waarin die ietwat verspote bewering gemaak is dat sy etlike honderde tale vloeiend sou kon praat. Die korrespondent van hierdie koerant maak +

later op dieselfde dag sy opwagting by Meinhof om gegewens te kry vir 'n nóg meer opspraakwekkende artikel oor die Nestor van Afrikanistiek. Meinhof stuur hom toe egter net so weg met die woorde: „Nee, ek is maar 'n doodgewone mens, ek praat maar net een taal, my moedertaal, en selfs dié maar sukkel-sukkel.”

Hierdie antwoord was onder die onstandighede besonder raak. Dit het egter ook meer as net 'n greintjie waarheid bevat want hierdie geleerde wat tallose tale so skerpsinnig kon ontleed kon tog nooit praatvaardigheid in ander tale verwerf nie. Hy was hiervan heeltamal bewus en daarom het hy hom toegelê op die objektief-eksakte bestudering van klanke. As pionier op hierdie gebied het hy die bekende fonetiese laboratorium in Hamburg in die lewe geroep as hulpmiddel by die bestudering van inboorlingtale. Dit is een van die merkwaardigste gevalle in my ondervinding van hoe 'n moderne geleerde, soos Demosthenis van ouds, 'n aangebore swak kan omskep in 'n wegspringplank vir uitstaande wetenskaplike prestasie.

Meinhof het sy loopbaan as predikant in 'n plattelandse dorpie begin, waar hy verplig was om sy boodskap van die preekstoel af in eenvoudige en maklik verstaanbare taal te klee indien hy die verstand en die harte van sy toehoorders wou bereik. Dié kuns het hy daar leer beoefen en daardeur het hy 'n wonderlik goeie leermeester geword wat altyd oor 'n oorvloed van raak voorbeelde beskik het om sy leerstof te verduidelik. Hy was 'n goeie spreker wat sy onderwerp saaklik, helder en interessant uiteengesit het onverskillig of hy in die seminar voor 'n klein getal van studente oor ingewikkelde taalprobleme gepraat het dan of hy in die *auditorium maximum* 'n groot skare op populêr-wetenskaplike wyse toegesprek het.

Sy analitiese gees wat altyd gesoek het na fundamentele begrippe en na die essensiele samehang van dinge het hom 'n gewilde kanselredenaar gemaak. In Hamburg het ek hom van verskillende kansels hoor preek maar sy laaste kansel toespraak wat ek bygewoon het is baie jare later voor die Duitse gemeenskap in Stellenbosch gehou oor die groot sendingtaak. Want Meinhof was 'n groot

sendingvriend. Sy belangstelling vir die tale van Afrika is inderdaad eers deur besoeke van Afrika-sendinge aan sy gemeente gaande gemaak. Vir hom was Afrikanistiek nie slegs 'n wetenskap terwille van die wetenskap nie, maar ook 'n diensmaag in die groot opheffingswerk van die sendingkerke.

Sy standaardwerke wat ek reeds genoem het was bedoel vir die ryp en ontwikkelde verstand, maar daarnaas het hy talle van eenvoudige taal-en volkekundige leerboeke geskep wat hoofsaaklik bedoel was om die jong sendelinge voor te berei vir hulle taak. Met baie van hulle het hy 'n gedurige briefwisseling onderhou tot wedersydse bevrugting van hulle werk.

Met sy pragtige silwerwit baard, sy dominerende neus en sy fors gestalte was Meinhof 'n indrukwekkende figuur. By 'n man van kleiner geestelike formaat sou hierdie uiterlike voorkoms miskien 'n steurende indruk gemaak het maar by hom het dit juis goed gepas by sy buitengewone gees. Hy was trouens 'n vegter wat dikwels ander taalgeleerdes in hewige wetenskaplike polemieke te lyf gegaan het en ook harde houes verduur het sonder dat hy ooit die onderspit gedelf het.

Toe ek hom leer ken het was die twee kinders uit sy tweede huwelik reeds volwasse maar het nog by hulle ouers in huis gewoon. Dit was 'n *gemutliches* familielewe waaraan ek hier vir 'n rukkie deel gehad het. Om in die familiekring oor inboorlingtale of oor enige taalprobleme te praat was feitlik taboe; die gesprekstof het egter oor die groot gebiede van politiek, kerk en kuns gegaan en die gedagtewisseling was altyd van oorspronklik-stimulerende aard. Sy dogter, erg gebreklik as gevolg van Engelse siekte, was die besonder liefing van haar vader en dit was aandoenlik om te sien hoe hierdie groot sterk man nooit versuim het om allerlei liefdesdiensies wat hy aan haar bewys het ridderlik eerder as bloot hulpvaardig te laat lyk.

Graag dink ek aan studietyd by Meinhof terug omdat hy vir my meer beteken het as net 'n groot taalgeleerde. Die vriendskapsbande tussen ons is egter nog veel vaster geknoop toe hy en sy vrou 'n vyftal jare later tydens sy besoek aan Suid-Afrika vir etlike weke ons gaste op Stellenbosch

was en toe hy deur sy mooi persoonlikheid en goeddeurdragte lesings 'n blywende indruk by beide die personeel en die studente van die universiteit nagelaat het.

In 1935 het my vrou en my twee seuns op 'n reis na Europa die familie Meinhof in Hamburg opgesoek en is daar met ope arms ontvang. By hulle terugkeer kon hulle berig nie alleen van die gulle ontvangs nie maar ook van die ongebroke arbeidskrag van die grysaard.

Die oorlog het toe nie alleen die wetenskaplike skakels met Meinhof—sy *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*—verbreek nie maar ook ons persoonlike verbinding, totdat die berig van sy heengaan op hoë ouderdom ons onlangs bereik het, die heengaan van 'n geëerde vriend en groot geleerde. Hy is nie meer nie, maar sy naam en sy werk sal lewe ook hier in Suid-Afrika.

(iii) DEUR B. I. C. VAN EEDEN

Terwyl ek my besighou met die gedagtes wat uiting vind in die woorde wat hier volg, is my oë telkens onwillekeurig gerig op 'n foto teen die muur voor my van hom wat nie meer is nie, wat ek onder my besonder kosbare besittings reken. Wanneer ek nou daarna kyk, kom ek by wyle so sterk onder die indruk van die onverklaarbare en tragiese verbonde aan die gebeurde wat die aanleiding tot hierdie waarderingsbetuiging is, dat ek dan meer geneë daartoe voel om liewer te swyg en te peins. Maar wat ons assosieër met die lewe—dié deel wat ons gegun was om te ken—van die man wat *Carl Meinhof* onderaan hierdie wonderlik getroue afbeelding van hom geteken het, is so groot en groots, dat *dit* ons aandag hier in die eerste instansie moet geniet, en nie wat in geheimsinnigheid omsluit is nie: die slotdeel van sy lewe, die omstandighede en plek van sy dood, ja ook sy graf.

So 'n uitstaande man, so 'n deskundige reus was Meinhof dat dit noodsaaklik en gepas geag is om as 'n huldeblyk 'n uitgawe van 'n wetenskaplike tydskrif van die kaliber van *African Studies* meer bepaald aan die lewe, strewe en werk van hom te wy—'n gebaar van die Redaksie wat deur almal wat met Meinhof kennis gemaak het, al was dit dan maar net deur middel van sy menigvuldige

wetenskaplike publikasies en ander geskrifte, ten-seerste waardeur moet word. En wie van ons wat hom as vriend of ook net as deskundige vakman en voorligter leer ken het, sal nie graag wil saamstem nie dat ons waardering en bewondering vir hom en wat hy tot stand gebring het, kwalik oordrewe kan wees? Want wie kan kleinerend praat van die buitengewoon ryke erfenis wat hy nie alleen meer bepaald aan ons hier te lande nie, maar aan die hele wetenskaplike wêreld op taalkundige, en in 'n mate ook volkekundige gebied, nagelaat het?

Die portret—om daartoe terug te keer—het hy, op my versoek, aan my geskenk en dit persoonlik, met die beskeidenheid wat kenmerkend van hom was, aan my oorhandig. Dit het gebeur in sy studeerkamer in Hamburg, op 'n aand heel aan die begin van 1938. Toe het hy reeds meer as tagtig jaar van sy lewe agter die rug gehad. En tog was dit geensins 'n ou man in wies teenwoordigheid ek daardie aand 'n paar uur deurgebring het wat nooit uit my herinneringe uitgewis sal word nie; nee, dit was eintlik nog dieselfde Meinhof van baie jare vroeër, met feitlik nog dieselfde ywer, vuur en helderheid van verstand, maar met ietwat minder fisieke werkvermoë. (Hy was o.a. nog redakteur van *Zeitschrift für Eingeborensprachen*!)

Tydens my verblyf in Hamburg het ek verskeie kere die voorreg gehad om in aanraking met hom te kom, veral aan die *Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen* van die *Hansische Universität* (Universiteit van Hamburg), waar ek terloops ook kon kennismak met sommige van sy uitstaande oudstudente en gewese kollegas, o.a. Prof. A. Klingenberg, Prof. E. Zyhlarz, Dr. E. Damman, Dr. J. Lukas, Dr. Emmi Meyer en Dr. P. Berger. Maar op geen ander geleentheid het ek hom, as deskundige en wetenskaplike, en as mens, so van naby kongadeslaan en leer ken nie as daar in sy woning, waar hy saam met sy eggenote en dogter gewoon het.

Met die grootste belangstelling en geesdrif het hy verneem na Suid-Afrika en persone wat hy enige jare tevore op sy besoek daar ontmoet het. Natuurlik was hy veral geïnteresseerd in ons leidende figure in die studie en bevordering van die

Bantoe- en ander tale van Afrika (sommige van wie in meerdere of mindere mate studente van hom was); hul jongste belangstelling, werk en navorsing in dié rigting. Na sy kommentaar oor sommige van die werke en artikels wat betreklik pas verskyn het—wat natuurlik nie in alle gevalle ewe gunstig was nie—, het ek aandagtig gesit en luister, maar dit is nie hier die plek om daarop in te gaan nie. In elk geval kon hy blykbaar nie goed begryp waarom daar met min uitsonderinge nie meer publikasies van ons, en by name die dosente aan ons universiteite, die lig sien nie.

Toe ek die aand afskeid van hom geneem het, het ek minstens een ding taamlik duidelik besef, en dit is waarom dit juis Meinhof was wat so uitgestyg het bo die ander uitstaande persone wat hulle voor en gelyktydig met hom toegelê het op die studie en navorsing van die tale van Afrika, en in die besonder die vergelykende Bantoetaalstudie—en dit trots die feit dat hy net 'n paar maaltydens kort besoeke die geleentheid gehad het om persoonlik in aanraking te kom met slegs klein afdelings van al die baie miljoene mense oor wie se talryke tale hy so gesaghebbend kon praat en skryf! Ons moet erken dat hy—in teenstelling met Bleek, byvoorbeeld, gesêen was met 'n besonder lang lewe waarin hy betreklik ononderbroke kon voortarbeid, maar nietemin het hy sonder enige twyfel oor gawes en vermoëns beskik wat slegs by uitsondering aan die mens toegedeel word. Soos by uitstek blyk uit die werk wat hy met betrekking tot die fonetiek en die fonologie van die Bantoetale gelewer het, het hy met sy wetenskaplikheid verenig 'n metodisme en noukeurigheid wat die bewondering en agting van enigiemand moet afdwing.

Merkwaardig is egter in dié verband die feit dat hierdie taalgeleerde haas geen ander taal buiten sy moedertaal werklik vloeiend prakties kon beoefen nie—'n toegewing wat hy self geredelik gemaak het. Die verklaring daarvoor moet klaarblyklik dáárin gesoek word dat die taalkundige taak wat hy hom ten doel gestel het om te verrig, of te help verrig, van so 'n omvattend en gekompliseerde aard was, dat hy nie die tyd en geleentheid kon vind om hom toe telê op dié soort studie van die een of ander bepaalde taal wat tot

die aanleer daarvan vir praktiese doeleindes, lei nie.

Wat hy bereik het en wat hy as sy bydrae aan die filologie kon bied, moet hoofsaaklik daaraan gedank word dat hy één ding vooropgestel het, en dit was dat die belangrikste onmiddellike behoefte in die studie van die tale van Afrika die essensiële vereiste van 'n vaste suiwer wetenskaplike basis, waarin die teoretiese noodwendig 'n belangrike rol moes speel, is. En hoewel sy taak aansienlik vir hom vergemaklik is omdat hy kon voortbou op die aanvoorkerk wat reeds deur Bleek, en in 'n mindere mate ook andere, o.a. K. Endemann, gedoen was, moet die uitmuntende resultaat wat hy uiteindelik in verband met veral die vergelykende Bantoetaalstudie bereik het, grotendeels daaraan gedank word dat hy, meer as enigiemand voor hom, die fonetiek, en daarby die eksperimentele sy daarvan, tot sy volle reg laat kom het. Indien dit nie was vir die grondige studie wat hy van die klankleer van die Bantoetale gemaak het nie, sou hy nie instaat gewees het om sy hipotetiese Oer-Bantoe te rekonstrueer en om aan te toon wat die klankverskuiwing van sommige van die Bantoetale is nie, ens. Daarop kan ons egter nie hier ingaan nie, maar wil tog net melding maak van die onoortreflike noukeurigheid en verbasende ontledingsvermoë wat hy in verband met hierdie reuse taak aan die dag gelê het; en om die woorde te gebruik wat hyself met betrekking tot Endemann se *Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho* gebesig het: „Dit is 'n meesterstuk van taalkundige noukeurigheid.”

Maar dit is ook nodig om te wys op die verkeerdheid van die mening wat tans nog by sommige persone bestaan dat sy werk net teoretiese en bloot wetenskaplike waarde het. Die praktiese waarde daarvan by die studie van die Bantoetale kan deur niemand betwis word nie wat hom daarop toegelê het om die verskillende verskynsels en beginsels ten opsigte van die klank- en vormleer, soos hulle deur Meinhof verklaar en sistematies uiteengesit is, te bestudeer. Trouens 'n belangrike dryfveer by hom in die onderneming van hierdie werk was juis dat dit praktiese doeleindes moes dien. Dit blyk dan ook duidelik uit sommige van sy publikasies, en meer bepaald uit sy ywer vir die

bevordering van sendingwerk in Afrika, waarin hy, as teoloog, nog voordat hy hom op taalkundige studie en navorsing begin toelê het, reeds die grootste belangstelling gehad het.

Vir 'n begrip van die ontwikkeling van die klankeleer en deels ook die grammatika van die Bantoele en vir taalvergelykende doeleindes is sy voorligtingswerk, in die besonder wat metode betref, in elk geval onontbeerlik; dáárvoor spreek ook die feit dat sommige vooraanstaande Bantoele wat aanvanklik nie ten volle die waarde daarvan wou of kon insien nie, al meer en meer daarvan gebruik gemaak het.

Ten slotte nog net dit: Waar ons vandag met trots kan konstateer dat die Bantoetaalkunde reeds tot so 'n trap van ontwikkeling gevorder het dat dit in verskeie opsigte nie ongunstig met selfs die Indo-Germaanse filologie vergelyk nie, is dit in hoofsaak te danke aan die aandeel daarin van Carl Meinhof.

(iv) By W. BOURQUIN

All who have known Professor Meinhof will have heard with deep regret of his passing away in 1944. I had the privilege in 1907 to attend, for a few months, courses held by him on Bantu languages. At that time he was still lecturing at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin. Many officials and many missionaries going to Africa have received their first linguistic training in African languages from him. He had the gift to rouse keen and deep interest in the subjects

taught by him. He was not like some eminent professors who although very learned are not able properly to instruct those who hear them. His knowledge was astounding, and he had a sharp and clear eye to see at once the essential points and to come to conclusions which subsequently were fully justified by facts. He never allowed his phantasy to roam about and lose itself in vague speculations. He instilled in most of us the responsibility to follow true scientific methods.

He was always ready to accept better views, to acknowledge sincerely the achievement of others, and to correct his conclusions if shown that they were untenable. For the last forty years he has greatly influenced the study of Bantu languages on the Continent. The result of this influence has been manifested in the publication of numerous essays and books, apart from the linguistic journal which he founded and edited for many years.

Personally he was very kind and amiable. He always invited his students to visit him in his home and took a personal interest in their life and work.

The study of his works and theories is still indispensable for everyone who is interested in Bantu philology. He himself would have been only too glad if he could have seen that through his research and labour he has enabled others to achieve still better results.

He was a true scientist of the best quality and his memory will live long with those who remember him with gratitude.

DUAL ORGANISATION IN AFRICA

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

This monograph owes its origin to a section in a Government report written in 1931 and also expands Cap. III in a thesis presented in 1934 to the University of London for the Ph.D. degree.

The monograph is written in the field, hence lacunae which could have been remedied had London's libraries been available. On the other hand much new material which, but for this paper, would never be published, is now presented, namely extracts from unpublished Government reports.

The subject is treated under the following heads :

- (a) Definitions.
- (b) Field work.
- (c) Published material.
- (d) Discussion.
- (e) Conclusion.

Dr. Haddon's advice has been of great assistance, viz. : "The comparative method (of Anthropology) has yielded most valuable results, but is liable to lead the unwary into mistakes. . . . Comparisons made within a given area or among cognate peoples have a greater value than those drawn from various parts of the world."¹

My material is restricted to Africa, where I have concentrated on that aspect of Dual Organisation centring on stereotyped names for the two moieties. Other aspects of the Dual Organisation appear and are dealt with accordingly.

(a) *Definitions of Dual Organisation.*

Dualism was discussed by Tylor ; but beyond drawing attention to dualism in Nature, e.g. Day and Night, Good and Bad, he left no picture of dualism as a function of society. Dr. W. H. R. Rivers directed attention to what he called the Dual Organisation in Melanesia, and referring to Africa, wrote :—"We know of only one case of an arrangement in Africa which can be classed with the Dual Organisation. This is among the Gallas of East Africa, who are said by an early observer, Charles New, to be divided into two

groups, called by him tribes or classes, the men of one tribe or class having to take their wives from the other."²

In the face of this remark, Africa appears to offer a poor field for research on the Dual Organisation, but this apparent unsuitability is due to Dr. Rivers' definition of the Dual Organisation. According to him, this institution portrayed a marriage arrangement only, thus :—"In connection with the distribution of the Dual Organisation it will be well to say one or two words about forms of social organisations, which resemble the dual system and have frequently been confused with it. When a society consists of two classes, such as chiefs and commoners, it would be possible to speak of a dual organisation, but unless they form an inter-marrying system as in Melanesia and among the Gallas, there is no point in classing the two together."³

If one accepts the above definition of the Dual Organisation, then in Africa signs of it will be hard to find. If, however, a different definition is accepted, then, as I propose to show, Africa is rich in the signs of the Dual Organisation. It would be strange if it were not.

Dr. Perry's, definition, when abridged runs somewhat as follows :—"The original settlements (of the Archaic Civilization) were possessed of a high degree of civilisation, and were ruled over by definite ruling classes, entirely distinct from the commoners. . . . In the original settlements the ruling group was divided into two parts, one superior to the other, the superior part being led by the 'Children of the Sun,' who are found from one end of the world to the other in connection with the archaic civilization. . . . Not only was the ruling group of a community of the archaic civilization, divided into two parts, but so was the land itself. This may well be illustrated by the first settlement made by the 'Children of the Sun' in Samoa. They landed on the island of Tau in Manu'a, in the east end of the group. They

divided the island into two parts, in one of which they lived, while in the other lived that part of the ruling group that was associated with the underworld. This dual division of the state was, so far as can be told, universal in communities of the archaic civilisation. But it went much further than that; for even villages were divided on the dual principle. In the island of Tau, just mentioned, the part of the island where lived the 'Children of the Sun' had as its first settlement, a village called Fitiuta, which was divided into Fitiuta-by-the-sea, and Fitiuta-landwards. This sea and land division of settlements is a widespread characteristic of dual communities, and it even extends to whole islands. . . . The two moieties in such dual communities have distinct characteristics. . . . One part is superior to the other, the superior part being, of course, that corresponding to the one formerly ruled over by the 'Children of the Sun.' The two parts are associated with the right and left hands respectively, and also with different colours. Hostility always exists between them, this hostility sometimes, as in New Guinea, expressing itself in chronic warfare."⁴

Fusion of two different peoples has also been advanced as the basis for dual organisation. "The origin of dual organisation (among Oceanic Negroes) is generally believed to be due to fision, but it is more reasonable to regard it as due to fusion; as hostility is so frequently manifest between the two groups despite the fact that spouses are always obtained from the other moiety."^{4a}

Professor Malinowski is scornful of the fusion, or of any other theory for the origin of dual organisation and after discussing them presents his own, thus:—"The Dual Principle is neither the result of 'fusion' nor 'splitting' nor of any other sociological cataclysm. It is the integral result of the inner symmetry of all social transactions, of the reciprocity of services, without which no primitive community could exist. A dual organisation may appear clearly in the division of a tribe into two 'moieties' or be almost completely obliterated—but I venture to foretell that wherever careful enquiry be made, symmetry of structure will be found in every

savage society, as the indispensable basis of reciprocal obligations."^{4b}

Though Professor Malinowski's prophecy does not hold for much of Africa, the point to note is that he rejects fusion or fision as origins of the dual organisation and his reciprocity principle is also of no value as an explanation of the dual organisation as found in Africa.

Professor Hocart's definition is one clearly applicable to Africa. He writes:—"Clans are often arranged in two groups, usually called moieties. This is technically known as the Dual Organisation. The general rule is that a man of one moiety must marry a woman of the other. This rule is known as exogamy. Exogamy is not, however, restricted to the dual organisation, but is applied whenever a man is required to marry outside a certain group. The usual theory of exogamy is that it is designed to prevent inbreeding. Unfortunately exogamous peoples are almost always at the same time endogamous; or in plain English they insist just as much on a man marrying within the family, as in his marrying outside his own branch of it. If the rule is that a man may not marry within the clan, it is also the rule that he marries into a clan which acknowledges common descent, and which has probably intermarried with the man's own family so regularly that its members are just as nearly related as those of the man's own clan. This is even more clear where the dual organisation is well preserved. The two moieties A and B usually look upon themselves as Senior and Junior lines, descendants of two brothers, or two sisters, or brother and sister. Every man of A marries a woman of B, and every man of B marries a woman of A, so that the man's moiety is the male line; the woman's the female line of the family, or contrariwise, according as the membership is patrilineal or matrilineal. Both sides are equally his kinsmen.

The dual organisation is, nevertheless, constantly represented as a system of pure exogamy: the Indian caste system as one of endogamy. But if the Indian must marry within the *jati*, he must also marry outside its subdivision which is called the cowstall (presumably because the cult originally centred in the stable). The rule is thus the

same as in many so called exogamous communities : the difference is in the size of the units. . . . So far from preventing inbreeding the rule of exogamy generally, the dual organisation always, enjoin inbreeding.

There are, besides, a host of other peculiarities which the outbreeding theory does not account for. One moiety usually ranks above the other, the moiety we shall call A. The Winnebagoes called it the Upper moiety : one of its clans holds the supreme chieftainship ; its members are sky people, and are buried aloft, and the totem animals are all birds. Moiety B is lower, connected with the earth, and buried in it, and are connected with land animals.

Let us run through some of the variations :—

	A	B
Andes	Upper	Lower.
	Right	Left.
Osage	Right	Left.
	War	Peace.
	Go the deasil	Go widershins.
Fijians	Noble	Common
	Gentle	Rough.
	Water	Land
	Chief	Border.
Aranda	Big	Small.
	Water	Land.
	East	West.
Banks	Important	Unimportant.
	Gentle	Rough.

Hints of similar divisions come from New Guinea, Siam, the Galla of Abyssinia. . . . The two moieties live in a state of sporting enmity which has often been mistaken for real hostility. . . . The Masai are divided into red and black, each division again into two. The division into red bodies and black bodies occurs also in Manua Levu."⁵

It will be noticed, in contradistinction to Dr. Rivers, that Professor Hocart draws attention to the evidence of dual organisation among both the Gallas of Abyssinia and among the Masai of East Africa. As already remarked, and as stressed by Professor Hocart, I concentrate on the names for the two moieties as indicators of the existence or of the former existence of the Dual Organisation.

Not every instance of fission into two moieties, or the amalgamation of two groups, is an instance of dual organisation. This, if village C is formed by fission from village D and contains two groups, A and B, then for village C to be classed as an instance of dual organisation, it must be shown that village D also has the same two groups A and B. Or, if two villages A and B amalgamate to form the town C, then C is, not, in my opinion an instance of dual organisation : but if a number of towns D, E F, G, etc., all show the same two groups A and B, then D, E, F, G, etc., are instances of dual organisation.

Clear instances of such moieties will be found in this paper, namely in the Umundri group of the Ibo, and in the Bakweri tribe. Here, no matter what is the name of the village, the names of the two moieties are always *Ezi* and *Ifite* for the former, and *Mbenge* and *Lelu* for the latter.

(b) *Field Work.*

Under this head comes my own field work and that of brother administrative officers. All this field work has been submitted to the Nigerian Government in various reports. The Nigerian Government has kindly allowed me access to these documents and has also permitted me to take such extracts from them for publication, as I have thought fit. I tender my sincere thanks to the Nigerian Government for this permission. The extracts will indicate what quantities of material lie in pigeon-holes awaiting publication.

Early in 1931 at Awka, Onitsha Province, Nigeria, I began a research into the magico-religious beliefs of the Ibo, on the Government's instructions. As a start, a detailed examination of the native town of Awka was made. The town is named after its founder, Oka, though it is possible that the name may have some other significance, because Oka means either a skilled craftsman or else a metal-worker. In support of there being an actual founder, his shrine was shown to me, yet Awka town is divided into the two moieties of *Ezi* and *Ifite*. Tradition claimed an earlier and different site from that now occupied by the present settlement.

At this time I had not realised the significance

of the terms *Ezi* and *Ifite*, and presumed that they commemorated the names of two of the founder's sons. At a later date the old men told me that *Ezi* and *Ifite* were not the names of persons at all, but were the general names for the division into which many Ibo towns were divided. Their words were:—" *Ezi* and *Ifite* are not the names of persons. It is the way the old, old, people divided the town. Our forefathers (*Ndichi*) so divided the town into two parts."

This assertion provided a clue. A low wall separated the *Ezi* side of Awka from the *Ifite*, and in the wrestling season the champion of one side would challenge that of the other. No animosity exists between the two divisions, nor do the two moieties form exogamous groups. Extended families or *Umunna* of the *Ezi* side are established in the *Ifite* area and vice versa. Confirming my findings in Akwa town by investigations in other towns, it appeared that here an Ibo town is composed of a number of exogamous kindred called *onuma*. Each *onuma* is subdivided into a number of *umunna*. The theoretical reconstruction of an *Umundri* town, or *obodo*, is as follows and is actually true of the town of Awka.

<i>Obodo</i>	
I	
I	I
<i>Ezi</i>	<i>Ifite</i>
I	I
I I I I I	<i>Onuma</i> (Wards).
I	I
I I I I I	<i>Umunna</i> (Compounds)
I	I
I I I I I	<i>Ononga</i> (Houses)

It is rare to find a town (*obodo*) with its groupings and its subdivisions shown so clearly because the distinction between *onuma* and *umunna* is hard to draw. A small *onuma* may sink to the significance of an *umunna*, while a large *umunna* may split and form two or more *onuma*. Each *onuma* will have a distinctive name, so also will each *umunna*, viz. that of its founder.

I made a detailed examination of one *onuma* in Awka town, listing only the names of known males living or dead. The genealogical table extended across eight feet of cartridge paper, elephant size. I now examined the Government assessment lists of the towns to see if the division into two moieties played any part in the payment of taxes or of tribute. Nothing in these lists showed that this dualism played any such part. It was clear that the dual organisation did not have an economic function. The lists showed that though the names of towns were distinct, yet the names of the subdivisions or wards had a high proportion compounded of the terms *ezi* and *ifite*. In order to ascertain to what extent this dual organisation existed, the names of all wards, quarters and divisions into which towns were divided, were tabulated.

In many towns, it was found that an *onuma* had added the appellation of *ezi*, or of *ifite* to its *onuma* name; in others an *umunna* name had been replaced by either the term *ezi* or *ifite*. The Akwa office lists often made no distinction between the two main divisions of the dual organisation and the *onuma* of a town. In the tabulation (not reproduced here) the names of the *onuma* were sorted out.

Of seventy-seven towns, seven were of Aro origin. These were excluded, because the Aro influence did not come within the terms of reference of my research, and also it is known that the Aro do not divide their towns into two parts. Eighteen of the other towns also show no sign of dual organisation, leaving fifty-two that show some form of dual organisation. Of these, twenty-one show the terms *ezi* and *ifite* together. Nineteen show *ezi* only, and six *ifite* only. Six others show a dual organisation based on other terms. Thus nearly seventy per cent of the towns in the Awka division show signs of a dual organisation.

Some discussion is here necessary to account for,

- (a) the presence of only one of the two terms in a village, and
- (b) the absence of any sign of dual organisation in other villages.

This feature of duality belongs to a cultural

complex fully described in *The Children of the Sun*. The original Ibo, until influenced by the Umundri group, would exhibit no signs of dual organisation and the absence of this feature from many Ibo towns is thus accounted for; on the other hand the presence of one or of both the terms *Ezi* and *Ifite* must be ascribed to the influence or diffusion of Umundri culture. Also, towns founded after the Umundri influence had ceased to be effective would likewise show no dual organisation, nor would towns founded under Aro influence. To-day there is no longer any organisation to maintain such an arbitrary division of a town into two parts. When therefore new towns rise, even though they are of Umundri origin and stock, they do so either without exhibiting any such division or with the divisions only imperfectly adopted. Certain Umundri towns which do not show this duality are known to be of recent formation. Another cause for the appearance of only one or other of the two terms may be found in those towns which, being originally founded with two moieties, became disrupted by raids famine, pestilence, etc. One moiety might, perish; or towns becoming small would amalgamate and dualities become confused or obliterated.

Towns which retain the two terms *ezi* and *ifite* are either of Umundri origin or are directly influenced by Umundri culture, so also are those towns that retain the term *ifite*; but the fact that towns which retain the term *ezi* outnumber those that retain *ifite*, by three to one needs some explanation. The term *ezi* attached to a root other than *ama* (a village green) and not balanced by an *ifite*, may come from a root different from that which gives *ezi*, in *ezi* and *ifite*. Thus, the root *zi* or *ze* has many meanings in Ibo, e.g. "road, good, noble, face, presence, majesty." The root covering "face, presence, majesty," gives the Ibo word *eze*, translated as "king." In the original Umundri culture there was only one *eze*, but to-day, owing to feuds, secessions, and imitations many spurious *eze* exist. Many of these have founded settlements of their own giving them the titled name of their founders. Hence the names of such towns begin with the prefix *eze*, i.e. there would be an *eze* ward in that place.

On these grounds seventeen towns are suspect, and are rejected as not showing unequivocally that they come into the category of survivals from a dual organisation. Thus twenty-nine towns have a dual organisation above suspicion. In other words 41.5 per cent of the towns in the Awka division show in some form or other, signs of a dual organisation based on the terms *ezi* and *ifite*, i.e. due directly to Umundri influence.

Dual organisation exists in other Ibo towns, but terms different from *ezi* and *ifite* are used. The reason why different terms are used was not ascertained, i.e. whether it was due to serfs imitating Umundri culture instead of adopting it, or whether it was due to the influence of another culture, was not discovered in the time available.

Instances of these different dual organisation terms follow:—

Dual Terms

<i>Enugu</i>	<i>Agba-na</i>
<i>Enugu</i>	<i>Agba-gwugwu.</i>
<i>Enugu</i>	<i>Ogba-nato.</i>
<i>Nagu</i>	<i>Agba-Iokwe.</i>
<i>Ogbo</i>	<i>Agba-enu.</i>

Of these five towns, three show the two terms *enugu* and *agba*, while the other two show only *agba*. It is known that in the past federations have occurred e.g. to resist Aro slave raids. If then towns with the Umundri terms of *ezi* and *ifite* were to amalgamate with town showing the terms *enugu* and *agba*, then towns with both these groupings should be found. Such towns do exist, thus:—

Name of town.	Names of the wards.
<i>Enugu</i>	Amako, Obaha, <i>Agba-Ogba</i> , <i>Ifite</i> , Eti.
Afule	Egosi, <i>Ezi</i> , Okpu, <i>Enugu-Abo</i> , Ovolu, <i>Ogbo</i> .
Awuka	Umunuba, <i>Isi</i> , Okpo, <i>Agba-La</i> , Akuöba.
<i>Enugu</i> 'Nkwö	Usogu, Lomu, Ulola, <i>Ifite</i> , Obaku Amudu.

The different dual terms are italicised. These four towns show a mixing of the terms *ezi* and *ifite* with those of *enugu* and *agba*. Hence these towns may represent all that remains of eight

distinct villages that have coalesced. It is therefore possible that there were four towns with a dual organisation based on *exi* and *ifite*, and another four on *enugu* and *agba*. If this supposition is correct, then there are nine towns in the Awka division whose grouping is based on *enugu* and *agba*. Of the four towns in the above table two have not been included in those showing the moieties of *exi* and *ifite*.

Some remarks are necessary to account for the absence of a dual organisation in towns which, apparently, should have it. Thus, the principal Umundri towns of Aguku and of Oteri, which contain divine kings, show no signs of duality. The history of these two towns readily accounts for the absence. The present Aguku is a recent confederation. The royal kindreds migrated from the town of Aguleri, which has a dual organisation, whence it appears the Umundri had arrived from west of the Niger, and thence, via the towns of Nteje, Nando, Atchola and Amanuke (formerly known as Afondri) to the present Aguku. Here the Umundri immigrants found the Akampesi, who are now a ward of Aguku, already established. This migration is fairly recent. The founding of Oteri is still more recent, because it sprang from Aguku.

Two of the titled elders of Aguku, discussing the divisions of towns into two parts, said:—"Aguku stands to Akampesi as *exi* does to *ifite*. Aguku comes first, and then Akampesi." Here were two old men using terms not found in their town. When I pointed out the anomaly, they remarked that the correct thing was for a town to be divided into *exi* and *ifite* as was their ancient custom. They volunteered the information that all Igala towns, whence they had originated, would be found to be thus divided. They mentioned the two Umundri towns of Aguleri and of Igbariam as instances of their own Igala towns where the division into *exi* and *ifite* would be found. These two towns do show this dichotomy.

Enquiries at Aguleri, which is an important station in the coronation ceremony of the Eze Ndri Aguku, why their town was divided into *exi* and *ifite* produced no explanation. My informant, the old man, Okörafö, of the *Umuora umunna*

said that the *ndichie* (the titled ancestors) had thus divided their towns and that there were no specific duties connected either with the *exi* or the *ifite* side. He added that Aguku had been founded from the *exi* side of Aguleri, but that people from the *ifite* side had also migrated. "When Aguku people visit us, some go to the *exi* side and some to the *ifite*."

It is thus clear that Aguku should by custom divide into *exi* and *ifite* and the two old Aguku men, when they said that Aguku stood to Akampesi as *exi* did to *ifite*, were recalling the ancient structure of their town before the migration from Aguleri occurred. In the Akampesi ward, which is regarded as equivalent to the *ifite* side elsewhere, live the original inhabitants of the land—the Umudiana (children of the land) who are not of Igalla extraction. This allocation of the indigenous inhabitants to the *ifite* side will be discussed later on and indicates that the *ifite* side originally represented the serfs. Owing to the migrations, probably to safeguard the royal families, the grouping of the town into two has been abandoned. Oteri, as stated, affords an even more recent instance of the loss of this characteristic.

The names for the royal kindreds in Oteri likewise show no indications of a dual grouping. The town is composed of the following *onuma*:—Obunö, Obindri, Ebunato, and Ndriofia. The royal family name *Ndri*, occurs twice, while *Obindri* suggests "the heart of Ndri." However, the point to notice is the presence of the term *Nato*. It is found also in the *onuma* of the following towns:—

Name of town.	Names of the wards.
(1) Obunö	Obindri, EbuNato, Ndriofia
(2) Umunne buNato	Umuefi, Okpulo.
(o3) Isiöji.	Umuanyi Aba, Eziamä, UwuNato.
	Ezukele, Ezehibe.
(4) Enugu.	EtuNato, AgbaNato.

The phonemes "B" and "W" often interchange, "GB" softens into "B," so that one might say that these four towns have in common one *onuma* with the name "? B(W, BG,) ? N ? T ?", where the vowels are represented by "?." The *onuma* names for these four towns supply internal

evidence of amalgamations, and this evidence is confirmed by the history of the first town in the above list. Such evidence explains the absence of dual organisation in towns that are obviously of Umundri origin.

Among the remaining towns not classified in any way, but nevertheless showing a dual organisation are the four following :—

Agulu Enu	Agulu Ana.
Ihu-hu	Ihu Owerri
Ama Oba	Ama Ofia
Okpube Oto	Okpube Otsha.

A plausible explanation is that these towns have copied a custom which was a characteristic of the Umundri.

On summing up, there may be twenty-nine towns which show a dual organisation based on *exi* and *ifite*, nine in which the dual organisation may be based on *enugu* and *agba*, four on *nato*, and in four the dual organisation is unclassified. In some of the above summaries there has been overlapping through placing one town in two lists simultaneously i.e. a town which, by amalgamating now presents terms from different dual organisations, will appear in at least two lists. The final results are given below. The horizontal columns indicate where overlappings occur. The vertical columns are free of overlappings :—

<i>Exi</i> and <i>Ifite</i>	29	or 25	or 24.
<i>Enugu</i> and <i>Agba</i>	5	„ 9	„ 8.
<i>Nato</i>	2	„ 2	„ 4.
Unclassified	4	„ 4	„ 4.
Total	40	40	40.

Thus, of the seventy-seven distinct towns of the Awka division, forty of them, or 52 per cent, on a conservative basis, show a dual organisation in some form or other. This percentage is high.

As the Umundri culture is traditionally derived from “sky-beings”⁶ whose direct descendants still call themselves Umundri (children of Ndri), it follows that they would have an opprobrious, or nickname, for the indigenous inhabitants. The autochthones are called “Ibo” by the Umundri, a term which Northcote Thomas says, means

“slave”.⁷ Ibo in my opinion meant originally “forest-dwellers”, and, as a secondary or derived meaning, “slave.” On the claim of their “sky origin” and on the cultural division of their towns into two parts, the Umundri would always call their part in any settlement, *exi*, and would relegate to the *ifite* side the local inhabitants.

In a pure Umundri settlement exhibiting the dual organisation, the royal families, the priests (*Adama*) and the nobles (*Ndinze*) would congregate on the *exi* side, while the artisans, craftsmen-workers and farmers would gravitate to the *ifite* side. These facts appeared when investigating the taking of titles or degrees, of which the highest is called *eze*. At first it seemed that the *eze* title was restricted to the *exi*, or noble, or royal side of a town, though the elders of Aguku state that their first *eze* came from the *ifite* side, they also say that all the others have come from the *exi* side, and that this order had been established before the migration from Aguleri took place. (An explanation of this anomaly will be given later.) As a consequence, no *ōzō* title (the highest obtainable by a commoner) is ever taken by members of the *exi* side. This subsidiary title of *ōzō* appears to have been conferred originally upon well-deserving, free-born commoners and craftsmen of the *ifite* side.

Whenever there was an Umundri migration, members from the *exi* and from the *ifite* sides would migrate together, but when this migration settled down near indigenous inhabitants, the whole of the Umundri migrants would coalesce to form the *exi* side, while the locals would become the *ifite* side. Also, from such Umundri settlements members of the *exi* side, whether as Umundri nobles or as Umundri commoners were posted in surrounding Ibo towns to administer and control them. These Umundri outposts, even if they were not composed of nobles and were from the *ifite* side in their own town, would nevertheless form the *exi* side in the new settlement. Something of this nature must have happened in the early days of the Umundri migration which has now settled at Aguku, and accounts for the assertion that the first of their line of Eze Ndri, came from the *ifite* side.

These outpost colonists and their descendants on the *ezi* side would be allowed to take the *ōzō* title, but many applicants would be known to be from the *ifite* side in the true Umundri migration and once a precedent had been established it would be difficult to exclude other deserving members of an *ifite* side, composed only of locals, from acquiring the title. To-day no distinction exists in the non-Umundri towns between the *ezi* and *ifite* sides in title taking.

In those settlements, which in time threw off allegiance to the Ezi-Ndri, the rulers would arrogate to themselves the rights and titles of an *eze* or king. Hence some towns have an *eze* while in others the highest rank is that of *ōzō*, held by many simultaneously in the same town. "It is noteworthy that in most towns owning a cult of Nri origin, the priest who introduced the cult became the Eze or Ruler of the town. Thus, at Niebo the first Eze was the person who brought the Agbala cult from Nri, and at Nsukha the first (and the only real Eze Nsukha ever had) was the person who brought from Nri the iron staff which is the symbol of the Ezoguda cult. At Eha Alumona it is said that Ezokpaka, who introduced the cult of Ezqwele from Nri and, like Ezoguda of Nsukha, was a son of the Eze Nri, was made Eze of half of the town of Eha Alumona."⁸

Furthermore, Umundri craftsmen, though of the *ifite* side in a pure Umundri settlement, yet, when settled elsewhere to ply their crafts and trades, would be superior socially and culturally to the indigenous Ibo. These craftsmen would call their settlement *ezi* and refer to the Ibo as *ifite*. The town of Awka illustrates this point. From the *ezi* side, come all the travelling blacksmiths, woodcarvers and medicine-men. The *ezi* side does no farming. All the farming is done by the *ifite*, with the exception of the Umuzõtcha ward which, though on the *ifite* side, has taken up the craft of the blacksmiths. The guilds depend on the surrounding towns for their food supply.

The division of towns into royalty and the rest, is recorded of Benin. "Approaching from Ologbo the bushpath suddenly debouches into a broad avenue running at right angles to it. This avenue runs through the centre of the town and ends on

the west side in the Gwato road. It forms a main division of the town, on the southern side the king's and chiefs compounds, and to the northward those of the lesser chiefs and people."⁹

Though no names are given to these divisions yet here is the distinction between nobles and commoners. The lesser chiefs do not hold hereditary rank but conferred, personal ones.

Meaning of ezi and ifite.

After assuring me that *ezi* and *ifite* were not the names of eponymous heroes, the elders of Aguku explained:—"Ezi is always the first or senior, and *ifite* the second or junior, part of a town. Thus, in any dividing of things, e.g. if a sacrifice for the whole town is made, the *ezi* side will take first share, then *ifite*."

I then sought from various educated Ibo in the vicinity, translations of these dual terms. The meanings given were:—"Ezi=upper," and "ifite=lower," but not in a gravitational sense. When "upper" and "lower" are meant gravitationally other terms are used. These gravitational terms do occur as the dual divisions of Ibo towns and their use suggests that the inhabitants have imitated the Umundri culture without realising the cultural significances that lie behind this duality.

The translation of "upper" and "lower" had been recorded in 1917 by the then District Officer, Mr. Lawton, thus:—"The majority of Ibo towns are divided into two parts, usually *eziam* and *ifite* or some similar terms, meaning "upper" and "lower", but only in the case of small towns is this the ultimate division."¹⁰

At Onitsha, the large riverside trading settlement of the Ibo, another definition was given. There *ezi* meant real, true, genuine, while *ifite* meant foreigners, strangers and recalls the explanation given in Aguku about the Akampesi side of the town. Though the translation given by educated Ibo and also by untutored illiterates when speaking direct to Europeans who speak Ibo, is "upper" and "lower", yet the root from which *ezi* derives seems to mean, "presence, majesty, head, face, eye", and is found in the Hausa, *zarki*, and also in the titles for kings on

the Gold Coast and in Abyssinia. The root would then probably be connected with *Si, Su, Chi, Chu*=Sun, God of Light, Brightness, hence the Ibo word *nditchie*=brightened ancestors=nobles.

The Umundri religion is based on a well developed sun-cult. The term *ifite* seems to come from a root *fe* meaning to serve, to work for, enslavement. It thus appears that originally *exi* and *ifite* implied heaven-born and earth-born, or nobles and serfs. If these two terms did originally carry these meanings, they have to-day completely lost them and, like analogous terms among the Lobi, now merely designate the two moieties of a town.

That the translation of *exi* and *ifite* as "upper" and "lower" is correct, is corroborated by the Ibo terms used to describe the two moieties in towns not of Umundri origin. Thus, in other administrative divisions Ibo towns are reported with the dual organisation moieties designated by *enu* and *ana*, which mean "higher" and "lower" in a gravitational sense and so are not translations, but transliterations of the terms *exi* and *ifite*. Other Ibo towns use the terms *enugu* and *agba*. What *agba* means is not clear, *enugu* means "high hill."

I did not find that the two moieties, *exi* and *ifite* carried exogamous principles or were in any way connected with marriage; nor do I consider that these two moieties arose out of exogamy.

Though Administrative Officers were aware of the division of Ibo towns into two parts, such a feature is not mentioned either by Dr. Basden or by Northcote Thomas. In fact the two terms *exi* and *ifite* do not occur in his vocabularies. Dr. Meek mentions this duality:—"The Obodo (nome) of Amowere has a dual grouping; one half of the town being known as Imama and the other as Ifite."¹¹

(c) Field work in the Cameroons.

In 1936 I was transferred to the Mandated Territory of the British Cameroons for administrative duties. On landing at Victoria en route for Bamenda, my station, I was delayed a few days. Enquiries at Victoria showed that some of

the Bakweri villages were divided into two moieties. At various times since then I have continued investigations which I now tabulate.

Bakweri Villages.

1	<i>Bova ba lelu</i>	<i>Bova ba mbenge</i>
2	<i>Ekona bo lelu</i>	<i>Ekona ba mbenge.</i>
3	<i>Muea mu lelu</i>	<i>Muea mu mbenge</i>
4	<i>Bokova bo lelu</i>	<i>Bokova ba mbenge</i>
5	<i>Bāana bo lelu</i>	<i>Bāana ba mbenge.</i>
6	<i>Bolifamba ba lelu</i>	<i>Bolifamba ba mbenge</i>
7	<i>Bokpai to lelu</i>	<i>Bokpai bo mbenge.</i>
8	<i>Boana bo mwany</i>	<i>Boana ba mbenge.</i>
9	<i>Bengwa bo mwanu</i>	<i>Bengwa bo mbenge.</i>
10	<i>Bonjongo bo mwanyu</i>	<i>Bonjongo bo mbenge.</i>

Mr. D. S. F. Shute, District Officer, Victoria, had recorded in addition the following towns:—

11	<i>Buea lelu</i>	<i>Buea mbenge</i>
12	<i>Soppo lelu</i>	<i>Soppo mbenge.</i>
13	<i>Muangai lelu</i>	<i>Muangai mbenge,</i>
14	<i>Bokwae lelu</i>	<i>Bokwae mbenge</i>
15	<i>Boando lelu</i>	<i>Boando mbenge.¹²</i>

Moreover I found that four other Bakweri towns also showed a dual organisation, but employed a different terminology, thus:—

16	<i>Membea Bokwango</i>	<i>Membea Nanga.</i>
17	<i>Lysoka Moliwe</i>	<i>Lysoka Wumbabi</i>
18	<i>Bolikoba</i>	<i>Bolukabo.</i>
10	<i>Bulu Likomba</i>	<i>Bokwae Lokomba.</i>

Out of the eighty-five Bakweri towns in the Victoria division, nineteen show a dual organisation, i.e. 22 per cent. Those Bakweri who spoke English, invariably translated the terms *lelu* and *mbenge* as "upper" and "lower", and they explained the terms on gravitational grounds, namely that the *lelu* side was always on higher ground than that of *mbenge*. These two terms are also used for east and west where a gravitational sense is lacking. The term *lelu*="upper" appears to be but a variant of the root *-ulu*=heaven, i.e. "up".¹³

Like the Ibo, the Bakweri have terms for the divisions in their towns. The terms are *mbowa*=settlement plus lands, i.e. nome; *lelu*="upper" *mbenge*="lower"; *lituta* or *liwunde*=wards, i.e. a collection of *litomba*=extended kindreds with a common shrine, i.e. consisting of a number of

nduwa=houses or sibs. So that the structure of a Bakweri town takes the same form as that of an Ibo one, thus :—

MBOWA.

I

I								I
Lelu								Mbenge
I								I
I	I	I	I	Lituta, Livundu, (wards.)	I	I	I	I
I								I
I	I	I	I	Litomba (Compounds)	I	I	I	I
I								I
I	I	I	I	Nduwa (houses).	I	I	I	I

An interesting feature is that the same name for a *Lituta* or ward appears in one town on the *lelu* side and in another on the *mbenge*, side thus (name of the town in brackets) :—

Lelu

Mbenge

Lionga (Buea)	Lionga (Boana)
Lambe „	Lemba (Bokwae)
Lifanjo „	Lifanje (Bolifamba)
Singi „	Singi (Bonjongo)
Ndongo „	Etongo (Boana)
Koso (Ekona)	Koso (Boanda)
Wongando „	Wongande (Bolifamba)
Wombongo (Bolifamba)	Wombangi (Bonjongo)
Esango (Bolifamba)	Lisango (Bokova)
Wotama (Bokova)	Wotema (Ekona)
Nganjo (Muangai)	Ekanjo („)
Efundi (Bowa)	Efandi (Bokova)
Wombunda (Bonjongo)	Wombunda (Bowa)
Likoko (Boanda)	Likoko (Soppo)
Muaka (Soppo)	Muaka (Bokova)

No explanation was obtained for the fact that e.g. the *lituta* called Likoko was found in the *lelu*, upper, side of Boanda but in the *mbenge*, lower, side of Soppo.

In the Bamenda division investigations disclosed the survivals of a dual organisation. Thus, the Bansa clan, part of the large Tikar tribe under a paramount chief, has Kimbō as its capital. This capital is divided into two moieties and, though

no other town or village in the clan is similarly divided, yet each of the villages has been allotted to one or other of these two moieties in the capital. The terms for the two moieties are *Bala* and *Gham*, but what they signify I have not discovered.

The next tribe that showed signs of the dual organisation was that of Bikom, also with a paramount chief and a capital at Lakum. Tradition has it that a woman, Naga, had, some say two, others three, daughters from whom each of the present three important Nkom divisions spring. Her daughters were Nkinti, the foundress of the Ejui group; Bi, the foundress of the Tinela group, and Nando the foundress of the Atyaff group.

Mr. V. Evans, District Officer wrote :—
“ There are two stones in the chief's compound known as Ekwi (sic) and Tinelar, and a religious ceremony is observed over them at the time of the planting of the new guinea-corn. The chief will call one man from each hamlet, and an Ekwi man with the chief will pour *mimbo* over the stones. A Tinelar man has not the right to see *mimbo* poured over the stones.”¹⁴

There is no stone to represent Atyaff. On my asking why the Ejui group was not named after its eponymous heroine, I was informed that the terms *ejui* and *tinela* were not the names of people (Cf. the same remark made by the Ibo), but the names for the two parts of a town and that *ejui* meant “upper” and *tinela* “lower”. No explanation was forthcoming for Atyaff. The Nkom chiefs come from the royal or *ejui* group. Hence at the annual ceremony each side of the dual organisation is represented.

Dr. Lassig, in a private communication, points out that *ejui* is probably derived from *iyu*, a common root for “sun, daylight, sky,” i.e. “upper” and that in *tinela* the stem *tin* is probably the same as that in *itin* meaning “down, coast,” i.e. “lower”. So that here again there are two traditional divisions into “upper” and “lower” for a town and connected, like the Ibo terms, with a sun cult.

Extracts from unpublished Government Reports.

The influence of Umundri culture on the surrounding Ibo has been much wider than was

formerly suspected and the following extract dealing with an Ibo clan in the Aba division of the Owerri province, Nigeria, is an instance of Umu-dri influence:—"The structure of an Ngwa village is based on the family, by which is implied the father, his wives and his children. This in the Ibo language is known by the name of Ezi. As time went on, these families expanded, the sons of the founder leaving the parental roof and building compounds (*onu ovu*) either in the neighbourhood or at some more distant spot where land was more plentiful. Those who went further afield became in their turn the founders of other villages, while those who remained at home served to expand the original family.

As each Ezi was established so also was a shrine erected for the worship of *Ala*, the ground, and at this shrine (*Ala Ezi*) all the members of the Ezi would assemble from time to time to offer sacrifices. Thus, although an Ezi might gradually split up into a number of compounds, so long as their inhabitants met together at the shrine of the original *Ala Ezi* they were considered to be members of the original Ezi, or family.

In the process of time the Ezi extended to such an extent that it became too cumbersome to be regarded as a separate unit, and thus gradually became disintegrated. Those compounds more closely related by ties of blood established their own independent *Ala Ezi*, forming other Ezi or families. The collections of Ezi still recognised their mutual affinity, and styled themselves collectively *Umunna*, signifying "children of the same father", or in some cases *Onumora*... and implies all those directly descended from one of the sons of the original founder of the village."¹⁵

Details of the religious ceremonial practices are given and these follow closely those of the Umu-dri. It appears that *ezi* is all that remains in the Ngwa clan of the dual organisation found further north where the culture is purer and more vigorous. Two factors would lead to the degradation of culture with the consequence that the term *ezi* now connotes a family. The first is remoteness from the focus of the culture. As the culture spread from its focus it would lose wealth of detail and the significance of many of the

steps in the ceremonial, while its constitution would be forgotten or misinterpreted, or something else substituted. The second factor was the slave trade. When the slave trade with the Europeans began the Ibo on the southern fringes of the tribe were the first to be raided. Their organisation became disorganised and broken up. The increased use of guns and of powder for inter-village raids reduced travel to the precincts of the village and contact with the focus was lost. With no interchange with the focus to maintain local village culture in a high state of purity, it rapidly became degraded. These facts will account for the deterioration into which Ibo culture in the south has fallen as compared with Ibo culture in the north at the focus (*Ndri*).

The *ezi* side of a town was the ruling side, and, in many instances the ruler came from a particular family on that side, from a founder who had been ennobled by the *eze Ndri*. As no special duties were allotted to the *ifite* side, whereas governance went with the *ezi* side, the *ifite* name would fade away and become forgotten, whilst that of *ezi* would remain and be perpetuated. In time the term *ezi* would be applied to any unit which had a ruler, and as the ultimate unit was the family with the family head or elder as the leader, the term *ezi* came in the remoter and more chaotic parts of Ibo land to be identified with the leading family, and later acquired the derived or secondary meaning of family. *Ezi* did not originally mean "family."

Though the terms *ezi* and *ifite* as indicators of the dual organisation, have disappeared from the Ngwa towns, yet vestiges of this dichotomy can still be detected. Thus one finds related Ngwa towns named as follows:—

<i>Uratta Eziana</i>	<i>Uratta Umoredu.</i>
<i>Amaekpu Umuamata</i>	<i>Amaekpu Isiaha.</i>
<i>Umuojima Uku</i>	<i>Umuojima Nta.</i>
<i>Okpuhie</i>	<i>Umohie</i>
<i>Umuojima</i>	<i>Umuojima Okereke</i>
<i>Mboho Umobo</i>	<i>Mboho Umuette.</i>
<i>Ovom</i>	<i>Ovom Mbaraikoro.</i>
<i>Abayi Ohanze</i>	<i>Adayi Umuokoro Ato.</i>
<i>Osusu Aku</i>	<i>Osusu Umuelundu.</i>
<i>Akano</i>	<i>Akano Nkpulo.</i>

<i>Amavo</i>	<i>Amapu Umuavo.</i>
<i>Ukuba</i>	<i>Amapu Ukebe.</i>
<i>Uhanze Isiahia</i>	<i>Amapu Ohanze.</i>

However, it is possible that some of the above may be instances of a parent and daughter town, rather than instances of dual organisation.

The cultural complex of the *Umundri* group at *Awka* has widely influenced Ibo-land as the following extracts show. Thus, Mr. G. C. B. Chapman, District Officer, writes:—"The following *Jungbanga* villages divide into two distinct noieties,

<i>Obokpa</i>	divides into	<i>Ofabene</i>	and	<i>Oganto.</i>
<i>Okokoma</i>	"	"	<i>Ikukara</i>	" <i>Otaku.</i>
<i>Ogurokpan</i>	"	"	<i>Ivat Uba</i>	" <i>Ofun Ekpa.</i>

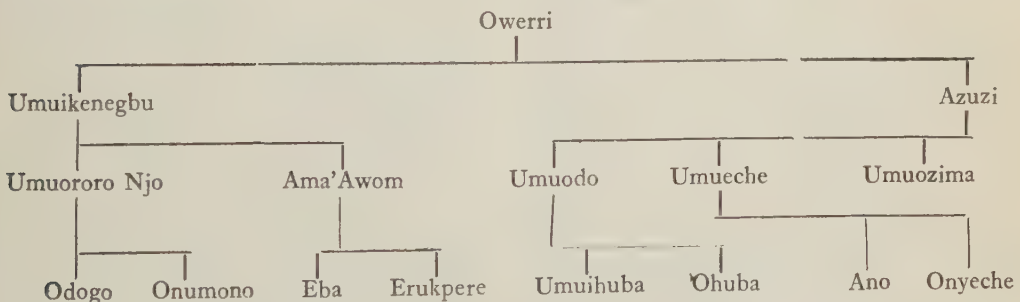
Ivat Uba is always the king's family. The present king of the whole clan comes from *Ivat Uba*, he is, *Ovat Igudu*. . . . The actual village of *Ofunbanga* has among other wards the following :- *Arara*, which divides into :—

<i>Arara Vama</i> which has two rulers,
(1) <i>Akpan Okedum.</i>
(2) <i>Edim Agbo.</i>

Arara Vano which has two rulers
(1) *Etim.*
(2) *Owujo.*"¹⁶

The same feature appears in Dr. Meek's report on the *Isu Mbiere* clan of *Owerri*. "Isu can be divided roughly into two groups, one of these is *Ikeduru* (comprising a number of villages) and the other the *Mbieri* (also comprising a number of villages). At *Amaimo* it was stated that the *Ikeduru* consisted of two groups, the *Ike* and the *Duru*, each comprising a number of settlements. In spite of the claim that the *Ikeduru* consist of two main groups there is no desire to have two Native Courts."¹⁷

This dualism was further stressed by Dr. Meek when dealing with *Owerri* :—"We may now proceed to examine the constitution and composition of a single independent village-group or commune, analysing its social organisation down to the lowest unit. The first example will be of the village-group of *Owerri*, the small community from which an entire province, comprising two million people, has received its name. *Owerri* belongs to the *Oratta* subtribe and consists of the following subdivisions :—



A remarkable feature in this scheme is the obvious tendency towards a dual organisation. An apparent exception is the division of *Azuzi* into three sections instead of two, but this is explained by the circumstance that the *Umu-Ozima* are recent immigrants from the town of *Nekede*."¹¹

Writing of the *Olumu* clan of the *Sobo* tribe, *Warri* province, Commander S. E. Johnson, District Officer, reports :—"From the evolution of the clan it can be seen that the villages are

roughly divided into two groups, the *Ukurie* and the *Umuore*, according to which quarter of *Otoroloma* their ancestor belonged. Intermarriage has dulled this dividing line, but there is still a distinction."¹⁹

In this same province reside the greater part of the *Ijō*. "The *Ijaw* of the *Brass* area are divided into two groups, known as *Higher* and *Lower Ijaw*, the terms being purely geographical. *Higher Ijaw* meaning the clans occupying the land round

the upper reaches of the river Nun, and Lower Ijaw those who settled in the Lower reaches of the Nun."²⁰

While Higher and Lower may be purely geographical terms it is difficult to reconcile this conclusion with the following two facts:—

(A) The Brass district is part of the Degema division and in the 1939 *Annual Report* it is stated that nowhere does the land rise 30 feet above sea level. With such absence of height Higher and Lower cease to have any geographical significance.

(B) Some surrounding tribes are also divided into Upper and Lower but not on a geographical basis.

The *Government Assessment Reports* of the Kumba division of the Cameroons province provide good examples of dual organisation. One of the earliest of these reports on the Mbonge, Bakundu tribes was written in 1922. "From Bongor it appears that the majority of the Bakundu moved and passing through Ngolo, and part of Balue unmolested, encountered the northern villages of Mbonge, who, it is stated, opposed their progress. The opposition appears to have been overcome, and the tribe moved to the present position of Northern Bakundu. Here two factions appear to have arisen. The villages still remaining in Northern Bakundu at the present day, occupied, approximately, their existing positions, and while the present Southern Bakundu villages appear to have divided. . . .

Obie of Ekumbe stated that the name Bongor originated from the 'first father' of the tribe, who, he stated, was called Ngoe. Ngoe had two sons, Muma and Mukundu. The former did not move from Bongor, and after the division founded the people of Ba-Uma. The latter, he said, moved to Northern Bakundu and founded the people of Bakundu. . . .

Enquiries concerning the families of Mbonge were instituted at the commencement of the assessment. In conjunction with these, were enquiries about the traditional heads of the families, or other ruling classes. Two families were discovered at once, namely:—

Dondongo Dibokato

and they were subsequently found throughout the tribe. The two families were found in every village with but one exception, namely the village of Lienyi and here two other families were the only ones found. They were

Borokundu Bakutare.

From the beginning one heard always of two men, Nukoko who lived at Bekondo and Mutia Yase, who lived at Marumba . . . The two families were found in every village and nowhere was it found that a whole village was composed of one family only.

Occasionally, when asked, men stated they belonged to one of two other families, namely,

Bongwana Bukoko.

These families were explained at the meeting of village heads as follows. They stated they were not families, but simply divisions in villages which were utilised when food was divided at *juju* celebrations, as all people could not eat in one place. A man might belong to either division, and he was appointed to one when he entered the *juju*."²¹

It is clear from what the elders said that the District Officer was dealing with a dual organisation. Seventeen years later another assessment report was written on these Bakundu and as fuller details are given, an extract is quoted. "The following table shows how the (Bakundu) clan falls into two main and four secondary geographical groups of villages, and the extent to which these secondary groups coincide with the Bokoko and Bongwana elements of the clan.

<i>Bakundu ba Diko</i> (North Bakundu)	Dipende Ibemi	
<i>Bakundu ba Diko</i>	Itoko Mbakwa, or Supe	<i>Bokoko</i>
	Mbu Wone	
<i>Bakundu bu Mubuka</i> (Bakundu on the road)	Kokaka Konye Ndoi	<i>Bongwana</i>
	Bombe Bopo	
<i>(Bakundu ba Nanja</i> Bakundu on the Mungo river)	Pete Banga	<i>Bokoko</i>
	Boa Kombone	
	Mabinji	
<i>Bakundu ba Mbanga</i> (South NBakundu)	Ngongo Foe	<i>Bokoko</i>
<i>Bakundu ba Meme</i> (Bakundu on the Meme river)	Bole Kake Dibonde Kumle	<i>Bokoko and Bongwana</i> <i>Bongwana</i> <i>Bongwana</i> <i>Bokoko</i>
<i>Nake</i> <i>Ndifo</i>	Nake Slaves	<i>Bongwana</i>

Almost all the Northern Bakundu villages have, or once had, two quarters, one recognised as Bareka and the other as Basamai. Two villages in the clan are entirely Bareka and four entirely Basamai; and there are eleven instances of whole quarters being entirely one or the other, while throughout the clan every extended family belongs to one category or the other.

Kobe, Itoki, Ibemi and Mbu, the four villages lying farthest back along the traditional route of the clan's migration from Bima, each comprises two quarters, one actually named Bareka and the other Basamai, there being generally one or two

(generally two) extended families in each quarter, each with its own name.

In all the other villages the prohibited degrees of matrimony are confined to the extended family or to smaller units, so that a Bareka may marry a Bareka in the same village except one of his own immediate or extended family. But in these four villages a man has to marry outside his own quarter; that is to say, no marriage is allowed between Bareka and Bareka, or Basamai and Basamai, in one village. Yet some of these Bareka or Basamai quarters are so large that the respective old men of the two component families, which may not

intermarry, are unable to trace their descent back to a common ancestor.

In the meanwhile, Kokaka, the southernmost and one of the more recently formed villages of the northern group, which comprises two extended families, both Basamai, intermarriage is permitted even between branches of the same extended family. (A man in this village may marry his first cousin's daughter, but not his paternal uncle's daughter.)

It was stated that if a cow was to be divided between a Bokoko village and a Bangwana village, such as Kobe and Konye, each comprising one Bareka quarter and one Basamai quarter, the cow would first be divided into two parts, one for the Bareka people of the two villages, and one for the Basamai of the two villages, and only then would the shares be divided according to village.

This principle was said to apply to sharing the meat at funeral feasts, or of cattle killed as fines, or to the entrance fees to societies; although no confirmation could be obtained of the interesting statement at para. 120 of Mr. Dundas' Report that a similar distinction was made between Bareka and Basamai when offerings were made to the ancestors."²²

The Bakundu elders stated that the names of the two moieties were not the names of families, but were, to use the Ibo formula, "the way the old, old people divided the town." Hence a search for a common ancestor for the two elders of the respective dual grouping was bound to end in failure. In four towns a person of one moiety may not, in his own town, marry a person of the same moiety, but he is not barred from marrying a person from the same moiety in a different town.

Among these Bakundu are a number of towns that indicate in their names a dual organisation, thus :—

<i>Lisoni</i>	<i>Lisoso</i>
<i>Mbwandi I</i>	<i>Mbwandi II</i>
<i>Meteko</i>	<i>Metoko</i>
<i>Nanjo Titi</i>	<i>Nanjo Besinga</i>
<i>Massaka I</i>	<i>Massaka II</i>
<i>Lokando</i>	<i>Nekondo.</i>

The discovery of dualism in the Kumba division had a stimulating effect upon other adminis-

trative officers, for in an intelligence Report on the Bongoe, the writer stresses this point. What is also of interest is that the names of these two moieties, like those of the *Umundri*, are translated as "upper" and "lower".

"The Bongoe tribe split into two factions, and one adopted the name of Bima and one Bakundu. . . . The outstanding feature of intertribal relationship is the discovery made in Bakundu (*Assessment Report Mbonge—Bakundu* 12. 10. 22.) that Bima and Bakundu are sections of one tribe called Bongoe. Beyond this no definite information was obtained. Bakundu-Badiku claim no relationship to Bakundu people living South of the area under report. These Bakundu they call Bakundu-Babanga. The words Babanga and Badiku may be translated as "upper" and "lower" The two *juju* divisions Bareka and Basamai found throughout Bima and Bakundu are also present in the Ngolo tribe, and it was stated that should there be a number of Ngolos, and Bimas, and Bakundus in one place when a division was necessary, men would divide into Bareka and Basamai groups irrespective of tribes. . . Enquiries concerning the leading families in Bima were instituted at the commencement of the assessment. . . . These enquiries produced the names of *Bareka* and *Basamai*, and these were found subsequently through Bima and Bakundu Badiku. At a general meeting however, it was explained that these were not families, but divisions with which numbers of people divide themselves when any distribution of food from *juju* societies took place."²³

What these officers were meeting in the names of the two divisions—names which remained unchanged through a number of tribes—were not indications of a common tribal origin, common ancestors—one for each moiety—but the results of culture contacts based on dual organisation and probably all that was common to the tribes was neither language, nor stock but culture from a common source. Had information on dual organisation been available to these officers, much time would have been saved in searching for the tribal origins of the two parts of a dual organisation and much that was then puzzling, have be-

come clear. Other information on customs that go with a dual organisation might also have been detected.

The next extract records the occurrence of dual organisation in other tribes. "Bakundu tribal area is divided into two parts separated by nineteen miles as the crow flies." [Upper Bakundu and lower Bakundu, a matter of geographical situation and so the terms "upper" and "lower" are coincidental. M. J.J. "... It became at once clear (on making enquiries) that there were two groups into which the villages divided. The groups are called Bokoko and Bengwana and there are two stories told of their origin. In one it appears that Matundu Ngoe had two sons, Mokoko and Mongwana, who disputed over some farm and Mongwana lead his people away to found a new village. The other suggests that Mokoko was a man and Mongwana a woman and that they had a dispute and refused to eat plaintains together. Thereupon the tribe took sides and divided accordingly. . . . There is a striking similarity between the division of the Bakundu into the Bokoko and Bengwana groups and the division of the neighbouring Ngolo tribe into the Bakossa and Bokotcha groups. . . .

Ancestor worship is an important element in the religious belief of these tribes, perhaps it is better to describe it as a belief that the dead play an important part in the welfare of the living community. Thus, in Bakundu, it is believed that the spirits of the ancestors have accompanied the various communities in their frequent moves and that they continue to watch over their welfare. In addition the Bakundu tribe is divided for liturgical purposes into the groups Basamai and Bareka. When food is placed in the ancestral groves, one group puts their offerings on one side and the other upon the other. This division is found in the neighbouring tribes of Balue, Bafaw, Bauma, Ngolo and Batanga and possibly in others as well."²⁴

In the Mamfe division—part of the British Cameroons—dual organisation has been found as the following three extracts show. "At the head of the (Nkongwa) community stands the chief—nominee of his predecessor—from his prede-

cessor's family. Simultaneously with the chief are nominated—also from the chief's family—a council of three, *Ekampaw*, 'the right-hand man', *Esaa*, the 'left-hand man', and *Mianfaw*, the 'second right-hand man' and it is curious to note the exact parallel to the *Otun Bale* and *Osi Bale* councillors at Ibadan."²⁵

This same feature of left-hand and right-hand groups is found in a number of other tribes in this vicinity. "All the clans (Befang, Ngom, Wechu, Deche, Angwe, Ambele Otutu) except the Widekum group and Biteku—were divided into 'right-hand' and left-hand' groups (Befang divide into 'right, left and back'). Sometimes the grouping was by small families, sometimes by extended families and sometimes by kindreds. In each case there was an hereditary head of the group. Whatever may have been the use of this grouping in bygone ages, when the Germans came it was used only for religious purposes; the division of meat, and occasionally for judicial purposes. Only Befang and Ambele can give any coherent account of the origin of this grouping. . . . (The native terms in Befang are *unti*, right-hand; *undi*, left-hand and *boronia*, back.)"²⁶

Because these tribes did not invent or originate a system of dual organisation, it would be impossible for them to give an account of its origin other than the tradition of a culture contact, with the story told them of the cultural myths for the origin of dual organisation in the culture which they had acquired. They could also give their own rationalised explanation, and it appears that the Ambela have done so, *vide* the following extract. "The Ambele story of creation is extremely interesting. It is that Nto-Elangaw on his death-bed summoned his four sons and four daughters to his presence. To Akom Areinyek he said: 'You will remain at the clan seat.' To the remainder he said: 'Agen Toli and Dabri Menkan stand on my right hand. Dapula stand on my left hand. You will go abroad and found your own towns. The descendants of Agen Toli and Dabri Menkan will be called *Ekori-Agen* (the people of the right hand), the descendants of Dapula will be *Ekori-Pula* (the people of the left hand). On all occasions of public ceremony the people of the right-hand will

take precedence over the people of the left-hand. On the division of meat Ekori-Agen will not sit down to feed with Ekora-Pula. Intermarriage may take place but the issue will take the rank of the father.' The four daughters were similarly divided two to the right and two to the left. It was further ordained that the people of the right hand and the people of the left hand should not intermingle during religious ceremonial. Each party was to have its own temple and own ritual. These instructions have been faithfully carried out to this day, and each man, woman and child knows whether he or she is on the right or left."²⁷

Madam Dugast has kindly sent me the following information from the French Cameroons. "*Travaux de village. . . 83 autres cases rondes à la manière tikare, ont été piquetées cette fois-ici. . . Le village s'est partagé la tâche : 42 à construire par 'Ditam-en-Bas,' 41 par 'Ditam-en-Haut'. Cette répartition a été pour moi l'occasion d'apprendre la contexture de Ditam. Ce village est apparemment divisé en quartiers et sous-quartiers avec des capitats c'est l'armature administrative. L'armature sociale et ethnique est toute autre. Ditam est partagé en deux : Ditam-en-haut et Ditam-en-bas. Le gens d'une même capita peuvent très bien appartenir à ces deux fractions. Cela n'a pas d'importance. Mais il est de règle qu'un homme de Ditam-en-haut ne peut prendre pour épouse qu'une femme de Ditam-en-bas. Les enfants qu'il aura avec cette femme seront de Ditam-en-bas. Le chef peut prendre indifféremment ses femmes dans l'un ou l'autre Ditam, mais les enfants qu'il retombent dans la fraction dont dépend la mère.*"²⁸

I shall now proceed to amplify the information thus far marshalled by extracts from published works on Africa.

(c) Published Material

I open with an extract from Dr. Alice Werner's labours among the Galla where, finding a division into two moieties called "upper" and "lower", she admits that very little is known about it. Also, it seems that dual organisation and age grades have been confused.

"D'Abbadie says that, about A. D. 1589 (according to his calculations) an African Lycurgus named

Maqo Bili divided all the Galla into ten castes or *gada*, grouped in pairs, as will presently be shown shown. . . ."²⁹

The date is noteworthy as showing the occurrence of dual organisation among the Galla more than three hundred and fifty years ago and finding it there to-day. Dual organisation in Africa is older than this date suggests. Miss Werner then gives her own lists of *gada* or companies: one contains ten names, three of which are in pairs and another list of seven grades where there are no pairs but where occur the names of two chiefs to each grade. The first list is:—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Indalana | 6. Buno (<i>Bunotofe</i> ?) |
| 2. Imarmufa | 7. Imbermeje. |
| 3. Imarmufa II (<i>Borodulo</i>) | 8. Imbermeje II. |
| 4. Imalchisa | 9. Imelba. |
| 5. Imalchisa II | 10. Hrovale. ³⁰ |

The next list which is of companies, does not, in its nomenclature, show the dual organisation, but there are two chiefs to each age-grade or *gada* and hence presumably two groups in each *gada*.

Name of Gada.	First Chief.	Second Chief.
1. Imudan	Dada Boneya	?
2. Imalchisa	Yaya Wario	Abalaga Jara.
3. Mdalona	Dadi Aabadada	?
4. Imarmufa	Boro Dulo	Shambaro Abadida
5. Hrovale	Abaroa	Dida Boyi.
6. Imbermeje	Buno (tofo)	Sharo Gwigo
7. Imelba	Jilo Abaroa	Boro Diko." ³¹

Dr. Werner then quotes a list of *gada* from D'Abbadie where the dual organisation is clearer:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Birmaji (<i>Imbermeje</i>) | 1a. Aldada |
| 2. Malba (<i>Imelba</i>) | 2a. Horata. |
| 3. Mudana (<i>Imudana</i>) | 3a. Bifole. |
| 4. Robole (<i>Hrovale</i>) | 4a. Sabaga. |
| 5. Dulo | 5a. Kirole. |

"These are not numbered continuously in order to show the arrangement in pairs to which D'Abbadie calls attention. The Aldada are the sons of the Birmaje; the Horata of the Malba, and so on, as the next Birmaje will be the sons of the Aldada, etc. . . . D'Abbadie speaks of Borana and Barietuma as though they were two sections of the Galla nation: elsewhere he describes the Borana

as the 'nobles' and the Gabboror—who would appear by the context to be no Galla at all, but conquered natives of the Shoa Highlands—as plebians or vilians. . . . The two-fold divisions (among the Pokomo, a non-Galla tribe) into Honge and Vibase (which I am very far from understanding) does not seem to have anything corresponding to it in the Galla polity. It can certainly have nothing to do with the exogamous divisions Irdi and Barietuma. Possibly it may in some way be connected with the two sections ('upper' and 'lower'—*Danda wa Dzuu* and *Danda wa Nsini*) into which every Pokomo village is divided. This, too, is a matter calling for further investigation. . . . Galla chiefs (*hayu*) are chosen, two at a time, by the members of the *gada*, and hold office for a period of eight years. . . . At this festival (the Jara ceremony) the *luva* is admitted and the two chiefs (*hayu*) installed."³²

Monseigneur Le Roy states that *Dzuu* means "on high, heaven".³³ So that the term *Dzuu* falls into the category of "upper."

It is obvious that Dr. Werner was describing a dual organisation, not only among the Pokomo, where the form is abundantly clear, but also among the Galla where the duality is linked with age-grades and therefore appears confused. The linkage of age-grade with a dual organisation also occurs among the Kru of Liberia and among the Lango. Among the Ibo age-grades occur, but they are not linked with the dual organisation.

A dual organisation with a marriage tabu was reported among the Galla in 1873 and the fact, recorded by Dr. Werner, that the sons of one group take names of their grandfathers also points to some such tabu. "The Galla are divided into two tribes or classes, the Baretuma and the Harusi, and the men of each tribe have to select their wives from the other; the Baretuma marry the Harusi and *vice versa*. The marriage of their own tribe's people is considered highly improper, the relationship being too near."³⁴

Another instance in Africa of a people divided into two moieties with a marriage tabu is recorded by Prof. Labouret:—

"Subdivision du clan en deux moitiés.

L'impression générale qui se dégage de l'étude des clans est donc celle d'un défaut total d'organisation. Cependant, chacun d'eux possède une subdivision intérieure partageant les personnes en deux moitiés ou catégories particulières et plaçant les unes par rapport aux autres dans une situation spéciale.

On observe en effet dans chaque tribu et dans chaque clan une répartition des personnes en deux classes, par exemple:—

chez les Birifor	Les Sun, plur. Sunbe. Les Gbangwar plur. Gbangbar.
chez les Dian	Les Pore Les Yaba.
chez les Gan	Les Tinne. Les Dembe.
chez les Lobi	Les Wo, plur. Wa. Les De, plur. Dega.

Ces termes peuvent se traduire dans les différentes langues par les expressions 'gens de famille' et 'captifs'. Cependant, il ne s'agit pas ici de personnes dont les unes seraient supérieures aux autres, de nobles et de roturiers, de libres ou d'esclaves, mais simplement d'une appellation permettant de distinguer les deux catégories du clan, dont les membres, ne pouvant se marier ensemble, doivent épouser une personne de l'autre fraction.

Rien ne permet de supposer que la distinction ainsi établie et qui n'a pas encore été signalée dans cette partie de l'Afrique, ait une relation avec la conquête d'une étendue donnée de terrain, ni avec la filiation en ligne paternelle ou en ligne maternelle. Elle ne paraît pas motivée non plus par un groupement territorial. Enfin il est certain que les deux moitiés du clan ne sont pas hostiles l'une à l'autre; leurs membres ne s'insultent pas réciproquement.

Ces deux fractions sont exogames à l'intérieur du clan, mais non en dehors de celui-ci. Par exemple, les Dian Tam de Diebogou sont Yaba, ils se marient d'ordinaire à Dolo où se trouvent les Tam Pore; mais rien n'empêche par exemple, un Yaba du clan Tam d'épouser une Yaba du clan Sou. On peut citer comme type d'union de ce genre celle contractée par Nayo, ancêtre des Dian Tam Yaba avec une femme Sou Yaba dans le village de Borphon.

Les habitants du Lobi assurent que cette répartition des membres d'un clan en deux moitiés a unique-

ment pour but d'interdire les mariages entre parents trop rapprochés. La prohibition n'a donc plus de raison d'être lorsqu'il s'agit de personnes appartenant des clans différents.

Il n'est fourni, d'ordinaire, aucune explication sur l'origine de ces moitiés, toutefois les Dian rapportent à ce sujet plusieurs traditions.

Les Pore et les Yaba des Dian.

D'après les gens de Loto, l'ancêtre de la tribu, nommé Béré, épousa Obolé dont il eut plusieurs enfants ; ceux-ci, devenus grands, se marièrent ensemble. Mais les filles mouraient avec leurs enfants et la famille était sur le point de s'éteindre. Béré consulta alors sa femme. Tous deux reconnurent que ces décès successifs étaient causés par les puissances surnaturelles, irritées de l'autorisation que le couple avait donnée ses enfants de s'unir ensemble. En conséquence, les ancêtres décidèrent de partager leur progéniture en deux groupes : le premier fut nommé Poré, le second Yaba. Désormais un Poré ne put épouser une Poré, un Yaba ne put prendre pour sa femme une Yaba. Enfreindre cette défense entraînerait la mort de la conjointe et de son enfant au moment de la délivrance.

Oluquenné Kam, ancien chef des Dian de Diebouyou, rapportait une version un peu différente. D'après lui, le premier ancêtre de la tribu, Olkon, vivait avec sa femme Hélihanou qui lui donna plusieurs enfants, filles et garçons ; ceux-ci se marièrent ensemble dès qu'ils furent adultes, mais la progéniture de ces ménages incestueux mourait en bas âge. Cependant Olkon et Hélihanou eurent d'autres enfants qui, comme les premiers, s'épousèrent et perdirent les fruits de leur union, à l'exception d'une fille et d'un garçon qui survécurent dans chaque ménage. Olkon eut l'idée de marier ces jeunes gens qui n'étaient cousins-germains et se nommaient Poré et Yaba. Les enfants de ce couple survécurent, et l'ancêtre décida qu'à l'avenir les descendants des Poré ne pousseraient plus de Poré et ceux de Yaba ne s'uniraient plus ensemble.

Une variante de cette tradition expose que les enfants d'Okon furent dispersés par un cataclisme et ne se retrouvèrent qu'au bout de plusieurs années. C'est alors que les frères et les sœurs se prirent pour maris et femmes sans se reconnaître.³⁵

Mr. Driberg, in reviewing Prof. H. Labouret's book, *Les Tribus du Rameau Lohi*, from which the above extract is taken, wrote :—" In each of these tribes are four clans arranged in pairs, and though it is not clear what rôle they play or whether in fact they are opposed to each other in any way, internally there is a characteristic alliance between groups of two clans. (The term used for this alliance is not a simple extension of the clan idea). Neither membership of a clan nor the bi-clan alliance is considered an objection to marriage, but under each class is arranged a number of exogamous sub-clans. Furthermore, every tribe in every class is divided into two exogamous units (it is not quite clear whether the sub-clans are apportioned different units of the clan or not.)

While Professor Labouret justly observes, the tribal organisation appears to have to broken down and resulted in some confusion, yet in effect one sees a kind of dual organisation working in these tribes and responsible moreover for the chief marriage interdiction. The two moieties, if they can be so called, are named in the language of the tribes *gens de famille* and *captifs*, but no significance now attaches to these terms other than that of distinguishing between the two categories of clans."³⁶

Those who regard the dual organisation as arising from a marriage prohibition must find this account perplexing. Compare these two statements, "neither the membership of a clan, nor the bi-clan alliance is considered an obstacle to marriage", and "... yet in effect one sees a kind of dual organisation. . . responsible moreover for the chief marriage interdiction." Such a division would hardly be the reason for a man from the *Captifs* marrying a free-born woman from the *gens de famille*.

The description of the two moieties as *gens de famille* and as *captifs* is fairly common in Africa and is reported among the Karague and among the Ovambo as well as among others, thus :—" The people of Karague may be divided into two races ; the reigning race or Wakuma, and the peasantry who originally owned and now cultivate the soil, called Wanyambo."³⁷

This distinction also exists " among the Ova-

mbo (where) there are two classes, or castes, called *Omusimo*, that of the nobles and that of the priests. The rest of the people are the plebs."²⁸ and is recorded on the Niger. "There are two sections among the Kyedya, the Kyedya Gbelde on the upper Niger and the Kyedya Talko, the down stream Kyedya. . . . There is a definite cleavage within their subtribes, between the 'dynasty' of village heads and the rest of the villagers. These dynastic ranks are not really part of the village, their qualification is not a naturally grown reputation and status in the village community, their qualification lies only in the fact that they are members of the dynastic family and have been delegated to these places. . . . A first class distinction between nobles who hold rank and people who have no rank, between 'nobles' and 'commoners' comes into being."²⁹

Among the Tiv of Nigeria, Captain Abraham reports a cultural division into two. "They (the Tiv) trace descent as follows: A-O-ndo (God) had a son, Shon, who was the father of Tiv and Uke (foreigners). Tiv in his turn had two sons, Chango and Pusu. The Tiv are thus divided into the circumcised (Ichongo) and the uncircumcised (Ipusu), but these terms have no actual significance as all the Tiv are today circumcised; possibly in the past, some sections were not circumcised, but today it is impossible to account for this differentiation."⁴⁰

Though Captain Abraham says that no adequate explanation can today be given for the verbal distinction of 'circumcised' and of 'uncircumcised'". It will be noted that the division into two moieties was due to a cultural contact which gave to the community the mutilation of circumcision. Just as the Jews referred to foreigners (Philistines) as "uncircumcised", so the sons of God (Shon) would refer to the Uke (foreigners) as "uncircumcised." It would seem that originally the division was Tiv (circumcised) and Uke (uncircumcised), as the Uke, or aliens, i.e. non-cult adherents would be; and that while Chango remained the head of the Tiv kindred, Pusu as a member of the dynastic family was appointed head of the Uke or aliens.

On such a supposition both groups would in

time have circumcision rites, because now the head of each group (being pure Tiv) would be circumcised and their adherents would follow royal precedent; yet the cultural and distinctive nicknames would persist, recalling the original status of nobles and commoners (foreigners).

The Plateau Province of Northern Nigeria, supporting a large number of tribes, presents various instances of dual organisation which do not appear to have been recognised as such. "The social organisation of the (Irigwe) tribe is unusual, for the tribe is divided into sections which are regarded as male and female. The chief of the whole tribe belongs to the Angwel section which includes two minor sections called Taku and Zobo. . . . The men of the male sections wear loin-cloths and little cloth tunics or gowns and a cap if they fancy them, but the men of the female section may not wear any clothes other than small pieces of leather to prevent stark nudity. . . .

From Boksella the rest of the (Angas) tribe went to Shuwak and there broke into halves owing to a dispute as to the direction of the next migration, half moving to, and founding Per, which is an Angas word for that kind of white stone which is so common here, and which is now-a-days usually called Amper, and the other half moving to Challim and finally settling at Bwir, which is an Angas word meaning 'burial place of chiefs' and which is now usually known as Kabwir. The founder of Kabwir was Gwallam and the founder of the Amper was Kendim. These were brothers and members of the ruling family. . . . Formerly a custom prevented these chiefs from looking at each other and so, even when considering war plans, they would sit back to back. . . . From Kabwir a part went to Fier, where they found a detachment of the Pyem tribe. . . . Fier is still divided into two sections, more or less hostile to each other. . . .

"Both tribes (Bwol and Dimuk) have a common traditional ancestor named Dimuk. . . This ancestor had twin sons, Dajan and Dajeen. Dajan or Sabjan, founded the present town of Namu, the chief of which is still known as long Sabjan, and a branch of his descendants moved from Namu to Bwol and became the Bwol tribe. Da-

jeen (or Jabejeen) who was the junior of the twins . . . is the traditional ancestor of the Dimuk tribe. . . The Bwol and Dimuk, in spite of their common ancestry, have fought against each other at frequent intervals, and still have no intercourse with one another. . . The Yioms are divided into two sections, Rokta and Putob which are clan and not place names. . . In the Eggon tribe these events (the killing of the founder, Abro, and the stealing of the sacred grain by an adopted stranger) resulted in the tribe being divided into two parts called Eholo and Nzo which were continually at war with each other. Roughly speaking, all the Eholo villages are on the higher lying part of the tribal territory and the Nzo villages on the lower part. The former still grow 'acha' as their principal crop and the latter guinea-corn.⁴¹

"There are also (among the Gwari) two councils called 'Hill' and 'Plain', being respectively nine and ten (members) in number, but their functions are not clearly defined and are of very secondary importance."⁴²

The above extracts show the remains of a dual organisation still surviving. The division into male and female sections in the Irigwe tribe is attributed to the ritual connected with the sowing of the sacred grain *acha*; but this explanation is not offered for the division into two of the Eggon tribe where the moieties are not male and female, yet the dualism is also connected with the sacred grain *acha*. One half of the Eggon tribe plants *acha* and the other half does not. The explanation for the names male and female for the two moieties in the Irigwe tribe is therefore not a true one, nor would such a division have appeared unusual had more been known of the dual organisation.

On the assumption that the dual organisation is due to a culture contact an explanation of a division of a tribe into male and female moieties can be given to cover all such instances. The dynastic group on conquering a tribe would impose on it its dynastic dual organisation and would relegate to the vanquished the labours and tasks usually allotted to women. The vanquished would then be nicknamed "the women" and the conquerors, by contrast, "the men".

Among the Mandingo of Liberia a dual organisation occurs. "The Mandingoes are divided into two main divisions which are named after the local word they use for the numeral "ten" in their dialect. One group used the word *tan* and the other the word *fu*, so that Mandetan and Mandefu are the two classifications by which they are usually known. . . The Mandefu live nearer the sea shore, while the Mandetan occupy the country beyond the forest belt with the exception the Vai, who have advanced to the coast."⁴³

Among the tribes speaking the Mandefu dialect are the Gbande and the Gbunde,⁴⁴ and it would seem that here is a further instance of dual organisation among them.

As would be expected, a dichotomy is also reported among the Kru of Liberia. "The two towns possessing a low court, Mafiye and Grand Cess, are divided into two parts, an 'upper' section and a 'lower'. The low court is situated between these two divisions. What functions these divisions possessed could not be ascertained. . . . The subchieftain (*bobi*) is elected by the soldiers in low court, but must receive the king's consent. . . . The position of subchieftain formerly was hereditary in a special gens. . . He is in charge of one division of soldiers consisting of half the total number. The low court priest, *Tugbewa*, is in charge of the other half. . . He (*Tugbewa*) leads the second great division of the army, the *Bobi* leading the first. . . ."⁴⁵

The system of justice is also dual, for there is a high court and a low court. "The High Court building is the residence of the High Priest. . . . The High Court officials are the king, the high priest, the *Klokoyon*, the *Boullo*, the *Bobi*, and the High Court elders. . . This is the highest court of appeal in the state, and one can be reasonably sure of justice. . . The Low Court is situated in the centre of the city. . . The court officials consist of the king, the *Bobi*, the *Dwedio*, the *Djecha*, the *Tugbewa*, the *Bowllo*, the low court elders the *Moin*, and the town crier. . . The army contains no recognised village or gens units. It is grouped first by age. Then each grade-group is divided into two divisions—the *Bobi*'s men and *Tugbewa* men. In war time there are

three generals appointed who do the actual leading of the army. There is one to each of the divisions and the generalissimo, who leads the army as whole. . . . All soldiers are inducted at Grand Cess proper—one group by the priest, and the other by the *Bobi*. Every twelve years those boys who in that interim have become of draftable age (about fourteen years) are made soldiers. . . . At nine o'clock on the morning of the day of the feast, soldiers gather in the low court. Those who are to be annointed line up two by two and pass slowly underneath a stick held horizontally by the *Tugbewa* at one end and the *Bobi* at the other. As they go under the *Bobi* announces the name of every individual. After passing under, the pairs divide—one individual turning to the right, the other to the left, so that finally both the *Bobi* and the priest have an equal division of men standing behind each of them. Ever after these soldiers have as their leader the man behind whom they stood after being annointed."⁴⁶

In the Gold Coast this duality is very marked. The explorer Forbes, nearly a hundred years ago reported this duality from Dahomey. "The people are divided into two parties, the *miegans* and the *mayos*, the right and left. In war, the *miegan's* soldiers are joined by the *miegan's* Amazons, and thus form the right or advanced battalion. . . . It may be still necessary to add a few explanation about the relative position of the two armies of Dahomey. Considered as one army, it is in two brigades, the *miegan's* and the *mayo's*, the right and the left, which are also called the *agaou's* and the *possoo's* (titles of generals). In the right there are two *miegan's* and two *agaou's*, a male and an Amazon; and the same equivalent rank is carried down to the private in each brigade, male and female."⁴⁷

These observations are corroborated by Burton. "I must observe here without entering into details, that Dahomian officials, male and female, high and low, are always in pairs. . . . The *Yevogan's* palace is a large *enciente* to the north of the town (Whydah) with four principal entrances. That on the north-east is the *Bwendemen*. . . . To the north is *Ganhori*, the western entrance is known as *Ohongaji*, and the southern . . . is *Agoli*. The

army, or what is nearly synonymous, the nation of Dahomey is divided both male and female, into two wings—the right and the left. They are so called from their relative positions to the throne; which here was represented by the entrance dividing the captains and their retainers into two bodies. . . . Two stages (platforms) are erected for this tragedy, one the *Akhsu Atgo*, or King's platform, due north of the gate, the other *Addokpon*, or Bushking's stage, rises a little to the west of where the market sheds now stand, clustering round a gigantic and obscene clay image of the Bo-god."⁴⁸

Professor Herskovits recently remarked on this duality in Dahomey. "Two hunting chiefs were stationed at the court, who, like all chiefs were responsible to two female counterparts inside the palace. They were known as *Agucha* and *Tövi*."⁴⁹

Other instances in the Gold Coast occur of this duality, thus:—"There is a legend that two brothers who were starving found two edible plants—the *fan* and the *shan*. After eating they founded the kingdoms of Fante and Ashante."⁵⁰

For Ashanti there is also a story of a dual founder. "Tradition says that the first to attain power over the tribe were the two headmen named Chum and Enchiwi. They exercised a dual control over the Amanse. The two names have been taken hitherto to represent one man only, who, under the name of Chum-enchi has been given the proud title of the first king of Ashanti. But in reality there were two distinct persons, and there was no recognised king for many years after those days, because the Amanse community was then scarcely large enough to aspire to a royal house. Moreover they were subjects of the kings of Denker."⁵¹

Traces of a dual organisation can be detected among the Gã of the Gold Coast. Dr. Field writing of the Temma group says:—"I do not know whether *Awudun* and *Asaman* ever intermarried strictly according to the plan known as the dual organisation. . . . Very likely they did. The neighbouring town of Nungwa, formed about the same time, certainly did. In both Temma and Nungwa we find one half of the town the head

of Prosperity ritual (i.e. public worship and agricultural rites) and the other half the head of Warfare magic (i.e. the stools.)"⁵²

In 1481 Diago d'Azambuja was ordered to build the first Portuguese fortress on the West Coast of Africa among the Amina of the Gold Coast. "And finally guided by the Holy Spirit and committing himself to Its care, he arrived near the village, which is called *das Duas Partes* (village of the two parts) where he disembarked in the year 1482."⁵³

This reference to a village of "two parts", bearing in mind how strong the dual organisation is on the Gold Coast, may be an early reference to this state of affairs.

[*To be continued*]

REFERENCES

1. Haddon, A. C. *History of Anthropology*. p. 153-154. London. 1910.
2. Rivers, W. H. R. *Social Organisation*. p. 29. London 1926.
3. Rivers, W. H. R. *Social Organisation*. p. 30. London 1926.
4. Perry, W. J. *Social Organisation*. p. 208-209. London 1926.
- 4^a. Keane, A. H. *Man: Past and Present*. 141. Cambridge 1920.
- 4^b. Malinowski, B. *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. 24-26. London 1940.
5. Hocart, A. M. *The Progress of Man*. p. 238-243. London 1933.
6. Jeffreys, M. D. W. *Africa*. Vol. VIII, No. 3. p. 346-354.
7. Thomas, N. C. *Report, Igbo speaking peoples, Part IV. Law*. p. 192. London 1914.
8. Meek, C. K. *An ethnological report on the peoples of the Nsukha division, Onitsha Province*, p. 5. Lagos. 1931.
9. Roth, H. L. *Great Benin*. p. 171. London 1903.
10. Lawton. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. District Office Awka, Onitsha Province*. 1917.
11. Meek, C. K. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Awgu report. Onitsha Province*. 1931.
12. Shute, D. A. F. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Progress Report 1927. Bakweri Tribe, Victoria Division, Cameroons Province*.
13. Le Roy, A. *The Religion of the Primitives*, p. 329. London 1923.
14. Evans, G. V. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Assessment Report on the Bikom tribe, Bamenda Division, Cameroons Province*.
15. Allen, G. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Intelligence Report on the Ngwa Tribe, Aba Division, Owerri Province*.
16. Champan, G. B. G. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Notes on the Ofunbonga clan, Owerri Province*.
17. Meek, C. K. *Unpublished Govt. Report. Interim report on the Isu group*. 1932.
18. *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*, p. 92. 93. Oxford 1937.
19. Johnson, S. E. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Assessment report on the Olumo clan, Sobo tribe. Warri Province*. 1930.
20. Newington, W. F. H. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Intelligence Report. Ijaw clan, Brass District, Owerri Province*.
21. Dundas, R. W. M. and Carr, F. B. *Unpublished Govt. Assessment report on the Mbonge-Bakundu tribe Kumba division 1922. Cameroons Province*.
22. Tovey, D. C. E. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Supplementary Intelligence report on the Bakundu clan, Kumba division. 1937. Cameroons Province*.
23. Carr, F. B. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Report on the Bima and Balundu—Badika clans, Kumba division. 1923. Cameroons Province*.
24. Garson, A. D. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Assessment report on the Bakundu clan, Kumba division. 1931. Cameroons Province*.
25. Rutherford, J. W. C. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Assessment report on the Mbo tribe, Mamfe division. 1923. Cameroons Province*.
26. Biddulph, R. G. *Unpublished Govt. Mss. Intelligence report Mamfe Division. 1922. Cameroons province*.

27. Sharwood-Smith, S. Unpublished Govt. Mss. Assessment report on the Menka district, Mamfe division 1924. Cameroons province.
 28. Roger, M. G. Unpublished French Gvt. Mss. Rapport sur la tournée effectuée du II Juliet au 4 Août 1933 dans la subdivision de Yoko. French Cameroons.
 29. Werner, A. Journal of the African Society, Vol. XIII. No. LI. April 1914. The Galla of the East African Protectorate.
 30. „ ditto.
 31. „ ditto.
 32. „ ditto.
 33. Le Roy, A. The Religion of the Primitives. p. 330 London 1923.
 34. New, C. Wanderings and labour in Eastern Africa. p. 274. London. 1873.
 35. Labouret, H. Les Tribus du Rameau Lobi p. 244-246. Paris 1931.
 36. Driberg, J. H. Africa. Vol. V. No. 3. July 1932.
 37. Grant, J. A. A walk across Africa. p. 174. London. 1864.
 38. Frazer, J. G. Native Races of Africa, etc. p. 174. London 1938.
 39. Nadel, S. F. Africa. Vol. VIII. No. 3. Nupe State and Community p. 275-291.
 40. Abraham, R. C. The Tiv People. p. 25. Lagos. 1933.
 41. Ames, C. G. Gazetteer of the Plateau province. p. 83, 133, 200, 212, 262, Jos. Nigeria. 1934.
 42. Temple, O. & C. L. Notes on the tribes, states, and emirates of the provinces of Northern Nigeria. p. 122. Lagos. 1922.
 43. Sibley, J. L. & Westermann, D. Liberia, Old and New. p. 51-52. London ?
 44. „ ditto. p. 54.
 45. Mekael, A. S. Africa. Vol. X. No. I. p. 80-91 Social Administration of the Kru. 1937.
 46. „ Africa. Vol. XII. No. 4. p. 460-461.
 47. Forbes, F. E. Dahomey and the Dahomians. Vol. II. p. 89-90. London. 1851.
 48. Burton, R. F. A Mission to the King of Dahomey. Vol. I. p. 53, 101, 220. Vol. II. p. 170. London 1864.
 49. Herskovits, J. M. Dahomey. Vol. I. p. 170. New York. 1938.
 50. Mockler-Ferryman, A. F. British West Africa. p. 319. London 1898.
 51. Fuller, F. A Vanished Dynasty. p. 3. London 1921.
 52. Field, M. J. Social organisation among the Gà peoples. p. 87. London. 1940.
 53. Blake, J. W. Europeans in West Africa 1450-1560. Vol. I. p. 72. London 1942.
-

A SEPARATIST CHURCH: IBANDLA LIKA-KRESTU

L. MQOTSI AND N. MKELE

INTRODUCTION

Of late years there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of African separatist churches, which in 1918 were estimated at 76, in 1932 at 320 and today at 800. This has caused grave anxiety not only among leaders of African thought but also among some Europeans. Unfortunately no thorough study of this movement has hitherto been made, although the seriousness of the position definitely calls for attention.¹

The separatist movement began in 1884 and caused a great deal of perturbation among the Europeans for in it they saw the first stirrings of a nationalism which might in the end overwhelm them. The Europeans had reason to be anxious because the movement (the Ethiopian movement as it is called) was a revolt against European control in religion and it might as easily have turned into a revolt against European control in political matters.

"The Church of Christ," which was founded about 1910, was also a revolt against the so called apostasy of the European churches which broke away from the Apostolic simplicity. It was so uncompromising in its attitude as to throw away hymnals, prayer books, robes and vestments, in a word, everything outside the Bible, which it pledged itself to observe to the letter. It is this sect with which our study concerns itself for it has met with such phenomenal success that it

would be a point of interest to know to what it owes its prosperity.

It has been suggested that the ebb and flow of the wave of religious enthusiasm, in any people corresponds to that of the social conditions. During a period of frustration and depression the religious temper of the people tends to be high, whereas in periods of prosperity and plenty it is at a low ebb. The period of the greatest growth in the membership of the Church of Christ coincided with the depression of the 1930's for after all, as Joseph Kerrin points out in an article in *Trek* of December 31, 1943, "religion is a non-practical means of satisfying needs that cannot be satisfied through ordinary practical means." The "Church of Christ" with its fervent promise of liberation certainly offered the people a way out from their helplessness. It rode on the crest of the wave of despair.

In Port Elizabeth, where its leader settled in 1928, it must have found the soil well prepared for the Masabalala incident of 1920 and the Bullhoek massacre near by were still fresh upon the memories of the people. And then the depression came. With all rivals eliminated, except the established or European controlled churches which in any case had failed to save the people from frustration, the sect had the field to itself.

It is striking that this sect has not, during the last twenty years, "suffered from an inherent tendency to split and keep on splitting," as Dr. Edward Roux so aptly describes the process in his article on "*The Ethiopian Movement*" (*Trek* July 27, 1945). This leads on to the question we have already posed: *To what does the Church of Christ owe its prosperity?* And it was to attempt to answer this question that this investigation was launched. For whatever else may be said, the Church of Christ as a representative of the separatist movement has been one of the most successful. If only for this reason it warrants study. It is not that Limba has been able to dupe the people

The following are among the few books, reports, and articles dealing with the African separatist movement:

The Native Separatist Church Movement in South Africa, by Rev. Allen Lea.

The Colour Problems of South Africa—E. H. Brookes.

Report of the Native Churches Commission, U.G.39, 1925.

Report of the Native Affairs Commission on the Israelites, A.4, 1921.

Trek, Vol. 10, No. 2, July 27, 1945, an article by Dr. Edward Roux on *The Ethiopian Movement*.

Libertas, Vol. 5, No. 10, September 1945, an article by Dr. B. G. M. Sundkler on *The Black Man's Church*.

to follow him so much as it is that he understands their desires and does not fail to express them somehow, religiously, if not politically.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

The Church of Christ was begun by an African, W. Oliphant, in Cape Town about 1910. A little later he joined the Israelite movement under Enoch Mgijima with the object of winning the Israelites over to his own movement, because he did not see why they should lead a separate existence when they were guided by the same principle as himself. But the man who had set out to convert the Israelites was himself converted by them so that when he returned to his Church in 1914 he had shaved his beard, which even today is regarded as sacrilege by the Church of Christ, and preached that water be used instead of wine during the communion service, thus contradicting his former teachings. As a result he was excommunicated in terms of Deuteronomy 4, 2 and 12, 32 and Galatians 1, 8-9. After this he formed the Baptist Church of the Seventh Day Adventists of Africa.

Oliphant's excommunication left Charles Sigxabayi head of the Church until 1927 when he, too, was excommunicated. At this time the Church had already a membership in the neighbourhood of 130.

Briefly, the story of Sigxabayi's excommunication is that in 1925 he left Cape Town for his home in the Cofimvaba district of the Transkei, while the young James Limba, who had joined the Church in 1914, remained in charge. In Sigxabayi's absence James Limba was accused of having embezzled the funds of the Church. Limba demanded to know what funds he had misappropriated and asked Sigxabayi to return in order to have the dispute settled. Sigxabayi would not come even after messengers had been sent to him.

It would appear that he was the instigator of this accusation, possibly with the object of getting Limba out of the Church in order to eliminate his growing influence with the members. This view is strengthened by the fact that even on his return to Cape Town in 1927, Sigxabayi did not go back to the Church but instead took up the

matter with the Langa Township Advisory Board and the Location Superintendent. Limba refused to discuss Church affairs before the Advisory Board, asking Sigxabayi whom he had left in charge of the Church—the Advisory Board or himself—and argued that Sigxabayi would be well advised to go and settle Church disputes where he had left the Church, with those he had left in charge. Sigxabayi would not come. Instead he began preaching against Limba. By now matters had come to a head and the same texts that Sigxabayi had used in excommunicating Oliphant were now effectively used against him. A minority followed him, a great majority remaining with Limba who since has become the sole head of the Church of Christ.

It is perhaps significant of the character and ability of these two men that Limba's group has grown to embrace the whole of South Africa extending even beyond the borders of the Union, while Sigxabayi's following has never been anything but a mere handful.

Even though the cleavage occurred so many years ago, and though there is no essential doctrinal difference between the sects, unity has hitherto been impossible. So bitter is the enmity between them that it is not uncommon that when the sects encounter one another in the streets in their *imvuselelo* (revival services) they engage in violent altercations, which at times have culminated in blows. None the less the name of Sigxabayi has clung to Limba's Church, for the people outside the Church still regard it as Sigxabayi's Church, calling Limba himself Sigxabayi and each individual member uSigxabayi (a Sigxabayi) in the sense that he belongs to Sigxabayi's Church.

James Ngcanjeni Limba, as his full name is, was born at Ngqele in the district of Middledrift and is now about fifty-eight. He is of humble parentage, one of six sons, and received some elementary schooling. In 1910, while working on the railways, he was an enthusiastic Methodist preacher.²

² For the biography of J. Limba and the history of the Church readers may consult the *African Horizon Christmas of Inkokeli* Number 1941, published in Cape Town.

In 1914 he had reached Cape Town where he heard of a man, Charles Sigxabayi, who had a wonderful knowledge of the Bible and was at the head of a new sect, the Church of Christ. Limba was seized with a desire to meet this man and to challenge him to an open debate on the Scriptures. He was outclassed and converted. From then on Limba became as ardent in preaching this new Gospel as he had been in preaching Methodism until today he has become the supreme head of the Church of Christ.

In 1927 Limba and another member, Johnson Plaatjie, were sent out from Cape Town to preach in the Eastern Province (Cape). A sum of £133 was collected to cover their travelling and other expenses. From this amount a van was bought for their use. By the time they left Cape Town the old van had used so much of the money that they had only £12 left. When they arrived at Kingwilliamstown they found the going very hard and with the £12 used up, they were faced with starvation. It was at this time that they were picked up by another member of the Church who brought them to Port Elizabeth where the Church had a founding branch. This was in the latter part of 1928.

So desperate was their plight at this time that the members of the Church decided to contribute 2s. 6d. weekly towards the support of these two men and their families while Limba, who lived with one of the men, received an extra 15s. to 20s. The members also began to pay tithes (*izishumi*). They bought a property at Korsten whither they took Limba and Plaatjie. A new car, for the use of Limba, was bought and the old van which he had brought from Cape Town was discarded. From now on Limba's future was assured.

At this time the Port Elizabeth branch of the Church was still very small and workers to take the field were needed. This task fell naturally upon Limba and Plaatjie while the other men assisted whenever they were free to do so, especially on Saturdays and Sundays and also during public holidays and in the mornings and evenings if they could afford it. They had to face the bitter opposition especially from the established churches. So great was the appeal of this sect with its strange

doctrine of baptism by immersion in water and its utter contempt for the doctrines of other Churches, that it could not but arouse the hostility of those other churches who regarded it with a great deal of anxiety as they saw not only their erstwhile members but also those who had formerly not attached themselves to any Christian denomination, flocking to it. Their even stranger songs and the bearded men only aggravated the position. Skirmishes were not infrequent.

Limba, however, continued to preach his Gospel allowing "the people to ask questions freely on the Scriptures". In this way he attracted more and more adherents and within a short time the sect had grown in strength and numbers becoming a force to be reckoned with. As we have shown, he profited from the depression of the 1930's and from the local political situation.

When he saw that the Church was firmly established in Port Elizabeth, Limba organized tours for the purpose of propagating his message. His first tours, through the Transkei, were on foot. Here he managed to win a number of adherents. By 1933 the congregation had grown so large that he could afford to tour the whole Union by bus, establishing branches here and there. In 1941 another trip, this time to Johannesburg, was arranged. In addition to a special omnibus (still to be seen in New Brighton today) built for this trip, there was a fleet of cars, Limba (now called Bishop) and his wife driving in a dark green Chrysler. Again in August 1945 the Bishop and his people paid another visit to Johannesburg, this time by train, owing to wartime restrictions on the use of petrol. They returned at the end of October after having visited branches along the line.

By 1936 the congregation had grown large enough to warrant the construction of a temple. The choice of New Brighton as the site was to a large extent determined by the fact that the Port Elizabeth municipal sub-economic housing programme for Africans was in full swing and the people were coming over to New Brighton. The stone was laid by Bishop Limba in April 1936, using the text taken from Acts 20, 27-28. It was opened in 1937 before a large gathering which

included people from the other churches and some leading public figures. At last the people had realised that the Church of Christ had come to stay.

The temple is an imposing structure, 100 feet long by 60 feet wide with accommodation for 1,400 people. The Bishop says that it cost £5,750 to build, although in *The African Horizon* 1941, the figure is given as £4,125. The temple, like other church buildings in New Brighton, is on grounds leased from the Port Elizabeth municipality.

In the same grounds there is a Mission House, the "Bishop's Palace," which was completed in 1933 and cost over £2,000. It is a fine modern house, of about 14 rooms—all of them well furnished. All these buildings are supplied with electricity and have been paid for by means of contributions from members of the Church.

The members of the Church had long recognised Limba as Bishop (*umVeleli*) but it was not until 1937 that the public accepted this.

With the growth of the Church in membership there was a corresponding growth in its commercial activities. The first of these consisted in the sale of firewood which was brought from farms hired in Alexandria. Later they included the cultivation of maize and pumpkins until today they have extended to dairy and poultry farming and the running of shops and butcheries.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH

At the head of the Church of Christ (*iBandla lika Krestu*) is the Bishop himself, upon whom everybody looks with awe and veneration. He is an exceedingly powerful personality, extremely egotistic with an egocentric sense of humour, fond of gesticulating when speaking and not very refined in manners. No doubt he is an organising genius for without any education but the Bible he has, through sheer personal force, won, reformed and held together so many adherents, to say nothing of successful business enterprises.

He is obeyed by his people with unquestioning submission. They may not enter the Church grounds with their hats on, especially if he is in

sight, as this is a sign of insubordination. Even in the streets if he happens upon them they have to remove their hats. When speaking with them they have, unless the Bishop orders them otherwise, to stand on their feet with both hands clenched together as a sign of unswerving respect. Wherever they are gathered, in the temple, in concerts, etc., they have to stand up when the Bishop enters or leaves.

The Bishop is looked upon as the father of the congregation. He is in fact called *Tata* (Father) by his people and his wife *Mama* (Mother). When speaking to any of them he constantly repeats *Mntan' am* (My child) while the latter follows with a repeated *Ewe, Tata* (Yes, Father). When addressing their gatherings or even other people he may call upon one of his men to repeat what he says, all the time saying *Baxebele mntan' am* (Tell them, my child) while the transmitter of the message keeps up a refrain of *Uthi uTata* (Father says).

From observation it appears that the word, *Tata* (Father), as used by Bishop Limba's people is not of purely religious significance as may be the case, perhaps, with the Roman Catholic Church. There is some sort of parental significance attached to it, which expresses itself in proprietary and parental relations. The possessions of Bishop Limba, for instance, the so called Church property, are looked upon as common possessions accessible to all the members of the Church, in the same way as the property of a father in a typical Bantu family is looked upon as the common property of the family.

Another factor which associates the word *Tata* with parental relationship is the fact that he is looked upon as the grandfather of all the children of the adult members of the Church. They call him *Tat' omkhulu* (Grandfather) and refer to his place as *kwaTat' omkhulu* (at Grandfather's place) while their parents refer to it as *ekhaya* (at home). This arrangement reflects relations obtaining between the members of an extended family among the Bantu groups. There we have the father with his married sons living in separate houses, but still the father's house being the central point on which all the other houses converge.

Actually Limba's name is taboo even to the men. Nobody is expected to pronounce it on pain of punishment from the Bishop who decreed that the members should call him *Tata*. One man at Kroonstad, a member of the Church, was, during the recent visit of the Bishop to Johannesburg, discussing the growth of the Church with other brethren when in admiration he exclaimed, *Awu! iya qhuba le nto kaLimba* (Indeed this son of Limba is progressing). The result was a severe harangue at the platform of the Kroonstad station administered by the Bishop himself, who, it must be said, is given to showing off. This is a new departure, for in Xhosa society only the women are not expected even to mention their husbands' surnames; it is an honour for a man to hear other men addressing him by the names of his forbears. It might be thought that this is a contradiction of what has already been said on the significance of the use of *Tata* in addressing the Bishop, but actually it only supplements it for, even without the need of decrees, most members of the Church consider it quite in order that the Bishop be addressed as *Tata*, and, in fact, the decree was issued after the people had started calling the Bishop *Tata*.

The Bishop has recently received a salutation name such as is used by the Nguni in addressing their chiefs. He got this name from the late Mr. S. E. K. Mqhayi, the author of *ITyala lamaWele*, *Don Jadu* and other books, and a poet laureate (*Imbongi yeSizwe*). He alluded to him as *Ngangegunya* and the salutation takes the form of *A! Ngangegunya!* This is how his people salute him. As a matter of fact this has to be done every day in the mornings and evenings, at concerts especially, where there are strangers, when the greeting is repeated thrice.

This name is probably derived from his very powerful influence and authority over his people which he seeks to maintain by all the means at his disposal. The word *igunya* can be translated as "authority", the translation of *ngangegunya* being "equal to authority". It is likely indeed that this is the significance attached to the name since in the eyes of his people the Bishop is all-powerful. They look upon whatever he says as

law and may hazard to undertake any venture, however risky, at his bidding. It is true that this is partly due to their great respect for him, but it is also the result of their confidence in the justice of all that is done in his name.

In the matter of religion the Bishop is believed to be in direct contact with God and no one can get to Heaven except through the correct procedure and his mediation. He possesses, so to speak, the keys of Heaven in the same way as the Bishop of the Middle Ages claimed to be an authority in the matter of leading the people to Heaven by administering to them the Seven Sacraments of the Church.

Bishop Limba holds that the path to Heaven goes through Baptism by immersing the repentant right under the water. The latter has to confess his God publicly, Whom he has seen through the Bishop, and to Whom his people refer as *Thixo kaTata* (God of our Father). All those so baptised are supposed to be the true followers of Jesus Christ whom John, the Baptist, immersed in the River Jordan. Only those who have gone through this procedure can be acceptable to their Maker. The procedure followed in the other Churches in this regard is looked upon by Bishop Limba's people as a travesty of the Holy Writ and is despised and defied as anti-God and symbolic of adherence to the Beast.

Some of the functions of the Bishop are the blessing of children, the confirmation of adults, ordination of archdeacons, deacons and so on, and the conducting of the Holy Communion.

Below the Bishop are the archdeacons, called *abayali* (admonitors). They conduct baptismal ceremonies in conjunction with *abaphathiswa* (representatives of the Bishop). These representatives are put at the head of the branches of the Church outside Port Elizabeth, as at Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, East London, Cradock, Grahamstown, Bedford, etc. *Abayali* are local preachers whose duty it is to preach in the Church and outside when representatives are absent.

Port Elizabeth, the Headquarters of the Church, is the largest unit with a membership of about 1,500; this includes the districts around Port Elizabeth. Johannesburg follows with a member-

ship of about 900, then comes Cape Town, Durban, and so on. There are branches all over the country and temples have been built at Craddock, Somerset East and Bedford whilst it is intended to build others at East London, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Graaff-Reinet, and Grahamstown. Unfortunately it has not been possible to get membership figures for the branches because the Church keeps hardly any records, but the total membership is estimated at 15,000.

The Church is not recognised by the Government.

To enable the Bishop to exercise proper supervision over his business concerns and to facilitate his visits to Branches, a fleet of cars has been bought—one a de Soto 1945 model valued at £600, another a Chrysler which has been in use for the last eight years without ever having seen a garage, and a miscellany of others. All cars are insured.

The Position of Men.

The control and management of Church affairs is in the hands of men. Only men may be appointed as deacons or Bishop's representatives; only they may conduct Bible classes; only they may preach; only they may discuss at meetings; in a word men alone with their characteristic beard may guide the destinies of the Church.

The beard is sanctioned by Leviticus 19, 27 and 21, 5 and appears to have been an important part of the man's make up, for in Isaiah 15, 2 and Jeremiah 48, 37, being without one was a symbol of disgrace, misfortune, and calamity. Therefore all men in the Church of Christ wear a beard, although they may shave their heads. It is a rather striking coincidence that of all the men we have seen in the Church the Bishop is not only the biggest but has by far the richest beard.

Our informants gave conflicting statements in regard to the attitude of the Church towards circumcision. Some say that it is a matter of obligation for every man to be circumcised if he is to play a leading part in Church affairs, irrespective of his cultural background, while others express the opposite view.

It is possible, however, that at the beginning when the members of the Church were all drawn

from the Xhosa-speaking Nguni, circumcision was stressed as one among other prerequisites for participation in the control and conduct of Church affairs (cf. Joshua 5, 2-3; Acts 16, 3; Genesis 17, 10-27). But as the Church grew in membership and attracted even those Nguni groups e.g. the Zulus, in whose culture circumcision is not an important item, this condition was amended (cf. Romans 2, 25-29; Galatians 5, 2-6; etc.).

Apparently the Church still makes it obligatory upon the Xhosa, whose custom it is to circumcise, to undergo this rite, for not only are boys excluded from taking a leading part in Church affairs, but the writers actually came across an *umkhwetha* (an initiate) who was well over sixty and enjoying a Government old age pension!

We learnt that when a boy is to be circumcised, the father may take the boy either to his home in the country where he performs all the necessary rites, or he may hand the boy over to the Bishop who, on payment of a fee of £7 10s., caters for the requirements of the initiate, feeds and clothes him, and on the day he leaves the initiation school buys him a khaki suit and blanket.

The Position of Women.

Bishop Limba and his people claim to be staunch adherents of the Scriptural precepts and they argue that according to these, women are inferior to men. They may not participate in public discussions with men. They may however pray in the Church.

The place of women in the Church is that which St. Pauls dictated in 1 Timothy 2, 8-15 and Ephesians 5, 22-33 as well as Genesis 3, 16 and relevant passages in the Scriptures. Children too are governed by similar texts.

If a woman feels she could raise a point in connection with any discussion she keeps it to herself until such time as she is alone with her husband (1 Corinthians 14, 34-35). The husband raises the point in the next meeting as though it came originally from him. Men are looked upon as the natural guardians of women (1 Corinthians 11, 3). But if a man does not go to Church or has no faith in God it is still permissible for his wife to uphold religious beliefs, for her husband, if he does not ill-treat her, is thereby blessed (1 Corin-

thians 7, 12-14) although he may not go to Heaven except by his own exertions (Hezekiel 18, 20). This also applies to the woman if she does not believe.

These strictures are supposed to apply also to the Bishop's wife—the head of the women's section of the Church. It was rather strange that she should occupy a seat inside the altar area, which in all churches is reserved for men, and that, special men. In some matters the Bishop is apparently arbitrary, for by putting his wife inside the holy area he violates the very teachings of the Bible he pretends to follow. Apart from this the Bishop's wife is no more than a figurehead which is pampered, dressed, fed, has everything done for her and has girls to do even the walking for her, for she is pushed around in invalid chairs.

Clan Names.

As the Church draws its membership mainly from the Xhosa-speaking Nguni group the use of clan names recalling traditional enmities, might lead to internal conflicts and even disruption, for it must be remembered that the fires of dissension kindled by Sir Benjamin D'Urban away back in 1834, when he separated the Fingoes from the Xhosas, have not yet died down. Every little disagreement is likely to set them ablaze.

To avoid friction the Bishop has successfully discouraged the use of clan names amongst the members. Instead, his people are expected to address each other as *mzakwana* (brother) and *dade* (sister) for men and women respectively. This holds good even in the case of husband and wife but occasionally one hears the use of married names for women, an important element in the tradition of the Xhosa-speaking Nguni. *Nosayini*, *Nouayini*, *Nokhaya*, etc., are among the names given to a woman by the groom's people on the day she is accepted into her new home, and it is by such name that she is henceforth called. This is apart from taking her husband's surname which in any case she may not even mention. Among the Pondo and Zulu the woman is called by her clan name.

This use of married names in addressing women need not be wondered at since it is apparent that the Bishop himself is steeped in the traditions

of his people. His wife's married name is *No-mayithi* (No-might), her salutation title, received from the late S. E. K. Mqhayi, being *A! No-mandla!* (We greet you Nomandla). This salutation is made together with that of the Bishop but of course after it, and is a translation of her married name. It is significant that this procedure is observed even in her absence in the same way that in the traditional Court Africans salute a chief even when he is not present. No other woman in the Church has a salutation name. We have not come across a single instance where any of Bishop Limba's men used a clan name in addressing his wife. Alternative to *dade* they use *Nkosikazi*.

That the Bishop has a feeling of obligation towards his kinship relations is shown by his kindness and generosity to them, even when they do not belong to his Church. With such people the Bishop uses the clan names freely. This is in fact his general attitude towards all non-members of the Church.

To avoid marriage between fellow clansmen everybody is asked to what clan he or she belongs before engagement takes place. Marriage between fellow clansmen is forbidden.

Marriage.

In the matter of marriage regular negotiations must have taken place between the two families and an agreement arrived at before the Bishop can sanction it. It must be clear that the two families have agreed to the union and that the bridegroom has paid the requisite *lobolo*. Moreover the girl may not be forced to marry somebody she does not like. Thus we have here a violation of the traditional system of forcing a woman to marry anybody whom the parents approve or favour especially if he brings a lot of cattle.

The Bishop is, however, known to withhold his consent with girls under his control for no reason other than that the man is not fit to marry a particular girl even when they have agreed. *Uliqaba wena, akunakutshata nala ntombazana; thatha leya!* (You are an ignorant man, you cannot marry that girl; take that one). Recently a man in the Church eloped with a girl living under the Bishop

because the Bishop would not agree to their marriage.

The procedure followed in the case of girls living with their parents is that the young man informs his people, if he has any, of his intention to get married. He tells them whom he would like to marry. Then the two families negotiate and if they come to an agreement the couple is allowed to meet and discuss the matter. Should they agree then the formal procedure of passing of cattle or money (*lobolo*) follows.

Although the Church does not categorically express any objection to either Christian or civil marriages, yet it would appear to favour customary unions holding that they are biblically righteous. Moreover, some of the Bishop's people argue, that there seems to be something arbitrary about Christian marriages, in that in the event of divorce or separation the minister of religion who had sanctified the marriage, does not figure at all in its dissolution or semi-dissolution, only the magistrate is in the limelight. In passing it must be remembered that the Bishop, being unlicensed as a minister, may not solemnise marriages.

Nobody can be debarred from enjoying the privileges of the Church by reason of his having married by customary union or otherwise, the criterion is full membership. Urban regulations are among the underlying factors which militate against prescription of any particular form of marriage, for some of these regulations penalise those married by customary union. One man told us, for instance, that one of their members was forced to approach a certain minister of religion (a licensed marriage officer) in order to be married, because he could not otherwise get accommodation in an urban area.

No woman belonging to the Church is allowed to marry an outsider, for this would mean that she would go back to the old evil ways, whereas a man may marry a woman from outside because that would mean "saving" her. Marriage within the Church is however favoured. A man may marry an outsider, firstly, because it happens that before he entered the Church he had already promised to marry someone. Secondly, because

his people who may not be members of the Church may require him to marry a particular girl.

From what we could gather apparently the Church does not explicitly discourage polygamy although polygamous men, while participating in the activities of the Church, may not take any part in the conduct of its affairs; for instance they may not preach.

DISCIPLINE

As in all other spheres in the life of the Church the Bishop is the unchallenged authority in the matter of discipline. This state of affairs finds Biblical justification, according to the members of the church, in the precedent of the Judges and Prophets of Israel.

So able is he in disciplining the people that not only those who belong to his Church but also those outside it are agreed on one thing, that the Bishop has been able to change those people who were once regarded as incorrigible hooligans into decent, dignified, and respectable men and women.

Below we give a free translation of the old disciplinary and moral code of the Church when its headquarters was still Cape Town. The later code, (which was not available) is almost identical except that it adds one or two points not mentioned in this one, such as the avoidance of smoking and drinking and so on:

"Here is the law of the Church:—Matthew 16, 18; Acts 20: 28; Ephesians 2: 20; Colossians 1: 18; 1 Peter 2: 4, 5.

- (1) The Church makes this law:—A brother who has anything against another should go to him at that moment and talk with him; if the other brother does not take heed he should take another and go with him; if he will not heed still he must take a third one, and if he continues not to heed they must bring him before the congregation and if he will not heed the Church then he shall be expelled. Matthew 18: 15 to 19.
- (2) A brother in the Church who will not obey the one in charge will be admonished two times, on the third occasion he will be expelled if he continues not to heed. But if (another brother who has seen him do wrong) do

not bring him after having seen him they shall both be expelled. Hebrews 13 : 7.

- (3) It is not permitted in the Church that ministers should be many. Matthew 23 : 10 to 12 and 18 : 14 ; 1 Corinthians 12 : 29 ; Jacob 3 : 1 to 3. Further there must be no brother in the Church, who, when he finds a point that is not being taught, begins teaching it himself, he should go to the one in charge and ask him. 1 Corinthians 4 : 15 ; 2 Timothy 3 : 14, 15 ; 1 Timothy 6 : 3-5. Further, backbiting is not wanted in the Church. Leviticus 19 : 16, 17 ; Psalm 101 : 5 ; Proverbs 18 : 8, 22 : 10, and 26 : 20-22, 28 ; Deut. 27 : 24. And again preaching rudely is not allowed Psalm 75 : 5 ; Romans 1 : 30-31 ; Ephesians 4 : 29 ; Colossians 4 : 5-6. A brother who is found doing any of these will be warned twice, the third time he shall be expelled.
- (4) The money from the tithes (*izishumi*) is not to help us out of our domestic difficulties, it is for the promotion of the work of God. 1 Corinthians 9 : 7, 16 : 1-3 ; 2 Cor. 9 : 6-7 ; 2 Thessalonians 3 : 8 to 12.
- (5) Here is the law relating to sisters :—It is not permitted that a woman should control her husband, neither to preach to him, she must bear herself quietly with all due respect ; if she wants to know something she must ask it of her husband. The one who has none should go to the one at the head. Proverbs 14 : 1 ; 1 Corinthians 14 : 34, 35 ; 1 Timothy 2 : 9 to 15 ; 1 Peter 3 : 1 to 6.
- (6) In all the sections of the Church if the man appointed to be at the head is charged it is not correct for the section to discuss the case, it should be taken to the elders in Cape Town, that is, if it is evident that such man is guilty (sic) 1 Timothy 5 : 19."

In addition to this the members of the Church are expected to be humble, quiet in their bearing, courteous, kind and obedient. They must neither smoke nor take intoxicating liquor as this would be defiling the temple of the Lord, and must live a clean and healthy life, be decently dressed, avoiding the use of obscene language and all rowdiness

and needless self-indulgence. The Church teaches moderation and abstinence in all things. It requires a strong moral fibre to do any of these things as, for instance, to stop drinking and smoking, for most of the men in the Church joined it at a mature age when smoking and drinking had become a fixed habit—at any rate in most Churches smoking and drinking are not discouraged for even ministers smoke.

In this connection Rev. Allen Lea contends that "the standard of morality in the Separatist Churches is lower than in the European controlled churches."¹ This is a sweeping assertion to make, for hitherto no statistical evidence has been available to show that the standard of morality in the European-controlled Churches is in any way superior to that in the Bantu Separatist Churches. The case of the Church of Christ, which is a representative of the separatist movement, and which we have studied closely, does not support this generalization. It compares favourably with European controlled Churches in Port Elizabeth in this respect. The Limbaitees are ready to fight any show of immorality. They do not take intoxicating liquor, they shun excessive self-indulgence, and, as we show elsewhere, girls live a chaste life. They are active in trying to root out immorality. This reproofing of immorality has raised the standard of morality among the Limbaitees considerably.

Settlement of Disputes within the Church.

Bishop Limba discourages his people from going to Court for disputes arising between one member and another. There are men, usually two, who are appointed by him for the purpose of hearing cases between one member of the Church and another. Their chief aim is reconciliation. They do not, however, give the final word : this is done by the Bishop himself.

Even in the case of members not resident in Port Elizabeth the practice is to report all misunderstanding arising between members to the Bishop who thereupon advises the complainants how to deal with the point at issue. Our informants told us that hitherto no dispute arising be-

¹ Rev. Allen Lea, *op. cit.* p. 1.

tween Bishop Limba's people has been of such seriousness as to warrant a litigation or a lawsuit. All disputes have been effectively settled within the Church.

Even in the matter of dispute arising between husband and wife, the Bishop has the final say. It is he who decides whether the two parties are compatible or not. Cases have been reported of men and women respectively who have been thrown out of the Church by the Bishop thus causing separations sometimes leading to divorce, but outside the Church.

The important thing about Bishop Limba's method of settling disputes is that the chief aim is to seek reconciliation rather than retaliation or punishment. It is especially stressed that the prosperity of the Church lies in good fellowship among its members. Thus Bishop Limba's people do all in their power to maintain amicable relations among themselves.

Disputes with Outsiders.

The general attitude of the Church towards outsiders is dictated by the necessity to maintain good relations with them in order to uphold the name of the Church and gain their respect. Members are not expected to go out of their way to molest outsiders, nor are they supposed to use angry words even when insulted by them. When the Church was in its infancy there was no end of disputes with outsiders and the Church attempted to put into practice the policy of turning the left cheek also to him that slaps the right, but later they began to retaliate.

If an outsider commits an offence against any member of the Church it is expected that such member will first of all, before taking any action in the matter, reprove the offender. If the man will not heed, the Churchman may call other *basalwana* and with their help bring the offender before the Bishop who may or may not punish him. The punishment usually takes the form of a sound thrashing administered by the Bishop or one of his men: the Bishop is known to administer corporal punishment even to members of the Church. Generally, no respectable person ever offends the Church, it is only the hooligans who

do. So far none of the disputes have led to a lay court.

Excommunication.

As there is no written constitution it is hardly likely that members know when excommunication is likely to follow from their actions. This is probably why they display such unblushing servility to the Bishop even in his absence, for it must not be forgotten that the Bishop is highly arbitrary and his actions may not be questioned—in fact the very questioning might lead to excommunication. What is more, very few members have ever seen the code of discipline included in this report. Evidently a man who preached against the Church or cut his beard, the Bishop not excepted, would be excommunicated in much the same way that Oliphant and Sigxabayi were excommunicated. It is known that a certain man was excommunicated for embezzling funds.

THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH

Observance of Sabbath.

The Church, unlike what it chooses to call the Apostate Churches in contradistinction to itself, the Apostolic, does not recognise Sunday as a day for worshipping God, but recognises Saturday, the last day of the week, the *Sabbath* which God himself observed by retiring from his work (Genesis 2, 2-3; Exodus 20, 8-11; Leviticus 23, 3). On Saturday Bishop Limba's people may not make any fire before sunset as ordained by the Scriptures. The meals are prepared on Friday, so that nothing hot is taken on Saturday. Not even a visitor can be served with hot tea on this day.

No work must be done on Saturday except by those who are in European employment and who therefore cannot escape working on that day. This is perhaps contributory to the tendency on the part of Bishop Limba's people not to work for anybody but to employ themselves in some sort of independent means of obtaining a livelihood. Even the shop and butchery are closed on the Sabbath day and no financial transactions of any kind may be conducted. Although the Bishop

might like to open the shops on Sundays, yet like other commercial and industrial concerns the shops remain closed.

The Ordinary Service.

Ordinary services are held on Saturdays, the day being divided into two sessions—a morning and an afternoon session. On the stage sits the Bishop (who occupies the pulpit) and his wife with a number of children and two elderly women. The congregation sits in the main body of the temple, and, as in other churches, the men occupy the right side, the women, the left. In both services this is the procedure that is followed:—

- (1) Hymn.
- (2) Notices and opening remarks by Bishop.
- (3) Kneeling in silent supplication for about a minute.
- (4) Hymn from Lamentations 3, 40-46.
- (5) Chanting of the Lord's Prayer and a prayer by member of congregation.
- (6) Litany, led by Bishop, the congregation chanting "Amen", taken from Deuteronomy 27: 15 to end.
- (7) Sermon.
- (8) Short hymn followed by prayer from two members of congregation.
- (9) Bishop's remarks and comments.
- (10) Closing hymn: Lamentations 3, 40-46.
- (11) Benediction.
- (12) *A! Ngangegunya!* (A Song).

The whole service takes about two hours. It is interesting to note that during prayer or sermon all are quiet except the Bishop, who groans and expresses approval as befits a mediator between his people and God.

As an expression of their strict adherence to the teachings of the Bible, the Limbaite do not have any hymnals or prayer books which they regard as distorted, but their songs are derived from the Bible, the music having been supplied spontaneously by the members of the Church. This has tended to make the music more African than Western. The hymns are sung on a very high key. The service closes with the singing of *A! Ngangegunya!* a song in praise of Bishop

Limba, which was composed by an African musician, the words having been supplied by a member of the Church.

Prayer is also an extemporaneous affair with the Bishop playing almost the same rôle as that played by Christ in the other Churches. He has to transmit the prayer to God in the same way as Jesus Christ is regarded as a mediator by the other Churches. *UTata umi phakathi kwethu noThixo wakhe* (Our Father stands between us and his God) as one man said during the course of a sermon. Little wonder, therefore, that all prayers are directed to *Thixo kaTata* (God of our Father).

The Bishop alone may occupy the pulpit, a special table being set aside for those he may call upon to preach. Both for the preachers and ordinary members there are no vestments or robes such as those worn by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, and Zionists, nor do we find any bright crosses, holy sticks or brilliant altars in the temple: there is an air of severe simplicity about the place—the Bishop however, wears a long black frock coat. At the end of the sermon, which is nothing but a panegyric on *Tata*, the Bishop makes his own remarks and observations. It may be noted in passing that no offerings are taken during the service as is the case in other Churches as, for instance, the Anglicans.

In the interval between the two services, those people whose homes are outside New Brighton remain in the Church grounds, where they have their lunch, on payment to the Bishop of a small fee.

The Church choir is divided into two: the women sit on the left facing the men who sit on the right. It is interesting to note that boys are not included in the choir because they are *unclean*, that is, have not been circumcised and may not therefore participate in the conduct of Church affairs.

It will be seen from the above that in the conduct of their services the Limbaite are unlike the "Ethiopians" for they have no use for hymnals, prayer books, and vestments of the "mother" churches, while they have avoided the Zionist extreme of talking in Pentecostal tongues, dancing

and all forms of religious emotionalism ; they are in fact a very dignified community, indulging in neither extreme, their dignity deriving from their very conviction that theirs is the only correct way. Thus they have no need for external appendages of godliness for it is just these that are signs of worldliness.

Baptism.

This takes place in an approved place in the river. There is a special song for the occasion, taken from St. John's Gospel chap. 3 beginning from verse 3 : " Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. . . ." Verse 5 goes thus : " Jesus answered, Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the spirit." The congregation sings these and other relevant passages taken from the Scriptures.

On the day of the baptismal ceremony the people are arranged in rows, Bishop Limba and the deacons being in the front row. The second row consists of the choir (men), the following rows are composed of women and the last rows of men. They then proceed to a river where there is enough water.

Special performers are chosen from the deacons and appointed by the Bishop. For every number approximating fifty there are two performers. Formerly the Bishop used to do the immersing himself. The Church rejects infant baptism and holds to immersion as the only righteous way of administering this Sacrament.

Relevant passages taken from the Scriptures and read on this occasion include : St. John 3, 1-5 and 22 ; St. John 4, 1-2 with special emphasis on verse 2 " Though Jesus himself baptise not but his disciples ", hence the Bishop baptises not ; Acts 8 verses 12, 26 and 37 ; Acts 10, 44-48 with special emphasis on verses 47 and 48 ; St. Mark 16, 15-16 ; St. Luke 3, 1-6 ; St. Matthew 28, 18-20 ; St. Mark 1, 1-11 ; St. Matthew 3, 1-10.

The person having been baptised has to serve a probationary period of two years during which he has to attend preparation classes in the evenings. In these classes the probationers are taught the

Bible and later the history of the Church and what the Church stands for. On completion of this course, if the Bishop or his representative deems it fit, the laying of hands or confirmation takes place. The candidate has to take the Oath that he shall dedicate the rest of his life to the service of God. Then Scripture reading follows, the object being to admonish the penitent and to show him the " ways of life ". No payment is required for the ceremony. The penitent is henceforth a full member of the Church and is entitled to receive the Holy Communion and, if he is a man, to preach.

Communion Service.

The Communion Service takes place quarterly in the night, starting from 8 p.m. to about 11 p.m. The Communion consists of wine and bread which are symbolic of the blood and body of Christ. The Ceremony includes the washing of feet by the Bishop or his representative as was done by Christ and his disciples during the last Supper.

The Scripture readings are taken from the following : St. Matthew 26, 26-30 ; St. John 13, 1-14 ; 1 Corinthians 11, 23-24 ; St. John 6, 53-56, etc.

Blessing of Children.

This takes place when there is a good number of children, approximately thirty. Contrary to the custom in other churches infants and children are not baptised, the argument being that a child cannot appreciate the significance of baptism. Further, it is argued, Jesus Christ himself was baptised at thirty. Therefore to baptise a child before maturity would be to commit it to a contract with God the obligations of which it is unaware (Acts 2, 36-38 ; Romans 10, 9-10). In view of this all that the Bishop or his representative does is to bless the children (St. Mark 10, 13-16 ; St. Luke 2, 21-34). Neither in this nor in the baptismal ceremony is there anything paid.

No water is used in the blessing of children. When the child reaches the age of sixteen he may then be baptised. After two years confirmation takes place admitting him into full membership of the Church with the approval of the leaders.

Iimvuselelo (Revival Services).

As a means of propagating its Gospel to the outside world and thus attracting new adherents the Church holds *iimvuselelo* every Sunday and during public holidays—sometimes at Korsten and others in New Brighton (these are Native locations in Port Elizabeth).

In these *mvuselelo* the women are in the middle with the men in front and behind possibly as a protective measure. This contention would appear to gain strength from the fact that every man carries a kerrie. It is possible that the kerrie is a relic of those days when the growing Church had to face a hostile public. At a service we attended one man mentioned in the course of a prayer how some of them had to abandon their homes because of the hostility of their people against the Church. Of course the public has now become reconciled to the Church but the kerries live on.

The people wake up early in the morning, assemble at an appointed place, open the service, march up and down the streets singing and preaching, special emphasis being laid on baptism by immersion in the river. It is quite possible that the people regard *Tata* and baptism as necessarily complementary because they do not mention one without mentioning the other. Only the men may preach. Here, as in the Church choir, there is a precentor and the songs, such as the words from Isaiah 26, 1-7, Psalm 118, etc., are taken from the Bible.

Towards midday the people break up for lunch, to resume the *mvuselelo* in the afternoon. The service closes with the so called song of Ntsikana, *UloThixo omkhulu*. In New Brighton before the people disperse they have to assemble at Headquarters to greet the Bishop and hear his wishes.

Lastly mention must be made of the fact that the Church of Christ, unlike the European controlled churches, does not have Women's *Manyano*, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., and Sunday Schools. This is explained by the attitude of the Church towards women and children.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Day School.

This is a private enterprise run by the Church not aided or recognised by the Government. It was instituted, so we were told, because at the time public opinion was very strong against the Church, so much so that children belonging to it felt quite embarrassed in the public and missionary schools in the thick of jeering by teachers and other children. It is interesting, however, to note that it is only in New Brighton that such an establishment exists and not in any other part of the country, where it could not be pointed out in any case that such conditions as had necessitated the instituting of one did not arise.

The parents are supposed to pay one shilling for each child attending school in compliance with the decisions arrived at at the inception of the school. Many however do not fulfil this obligation chiefly because of the feeling that public schools exist where education is free, that is, where parents do not have to contribute towards payment of teachers' salaries. The result is that there is always a deficit and the Bishop makes this good from the so called Church funds.

The school is understaffed and the teachers underpaid, the roll being about 200 with only three teachers, one male and two female assistants. The head teacher receives £7 10s. a month, his first assistant £5 and his second assistant £4 10s. All of them are qualified teachers.

The school goes as far as Std. V. and thereafter a child may proceed to any of the public or missionary schools for Std. VI.

The inevitable result is that the school cannot make headway in any direction. The teachers' salaries in the first place are not encouraging and secondly, hardly any improvement can be effected on the school in the way of materials since no funds are forthcoming for the purpose. The fact that the school is understaffed is a serious obstacle to development of any kind. Besides, classes are held in the Church building, no separate school building having been provided.

Since the school owes its origin to inter-denominational antagonisms it is an expression of

those antagonisms and might have even reinforced them had not the Inspector of Schools for the Port Elizabeth district refused it recognition. Had he done otherwise he might have created a precedent which the other Churches would have gladly followed. The warring religious factions would have thus found an outlet for expression on another plane.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

Collection and Allocation of Funds.

Church dues.

A due to the amount of 6d. is payable weekly by every head of a family (there are over 400 such heads in Port Elizabeth). This money is collected in every centre where there is a branch of the Church and each branch sends the money thus collected to the Bishop. This money has to be transmitted at least once monthly. Following the terminology of the Bible, the members of the Church call these weekly dues "tithes" which in Xhosa is *izishumi*. A sum of over £1,300 annually is raised in this way, but this hardly offers a guide as to the membership for many of the people do not pay their dues regularly since this is a voluntary subscription.

The theory is that all wealth collectively produced by the members of the Church belongs to the Church and not to any particular individual. It is a theory of communal rights over what takes the form of family property, since the Bishop is called *Tata* and his place *ekhaya*. The Bishop is supposed, as a father, to spend liberally for his children. His property is their property by virtue of his being their father and will revert to the Church when he dies irrespective of the non-existence of documentary evidence. This is a reflection of kinship relations in Bantu society where oral tradition is sufficient evidence in respect of the distribution of property at death. But the difference here lies in the fact that the conditions and laws regulating inheritance of the so called Church property are not defined.

Tea-Parties (Concerts).

Tea-parties or concerts of a sort, by means of which large sums of money (at one time £2,000 in

a single night) may be raised, are held once or twice a year. Before such parties take place great monetary preparations are undertaken by the members of the Church. They divide themselves into competitive groups.

The function lasts from the previous day, right through the night to the following morning. Various choirs are attached to the various competitive groups so that each group has its own choir and they pool their money together to see that their choir alone does the singing. In this way a great deal of money is realised. Such days are in fact days for financial parade for one may see men with 10s., £1, and £5 bank notes pinned onto their coat lapels in an arrogant fashion. A large number get small change which they shower onto the stage by way of applause.

Contributions by Members.

For many of its undertakings the Church raises funds by soliciting contributions from the members. For such purpose the Bishop issues a circular instruction stating the amount of money each member is expected to give and for what purpose the money is to be used. The men, as a rule, pay more than the women. When such monies have been collected they are transmitted by branches to the Bishop who keeps a register of all monies received. As much as £10,000 was recently collected for the purchase of a farm. The result is that all financial transactions of the Church are on a strictly cash basis. Whatever is left over from such money is used by the Bishop at his sole discretion.

This method of raising funds has long been in existence in the Church. In 1927 Cape Town collected money for Limba's journey to the Eastern Province; in 1928 the property at Korsten for the use of the Bishop (now used for housing the indigent, orphans and destitute women) was bought in this way; members of the Church contributed 2s. 6d. for the purchase of the first lorry, the one used as a bus during the 1933 tour; in order to build the temple at New Brighton men had to pay £2 10s. each and women 10s. and later when it was realised that the amount collected was not sufficient each man had to contribute an extra £1 10s. and each woman 10s.; the manse

that is, the "Bishop's Palace" cost each man £2, and each woman 10s. to build, while for the store and butchery similar amounts were collected. In this way the Church has acquired various assets and property at present used by the Bishop at his sole discretion and registered in his name.

The money thus collected is supposed to belong to the Church for the upliftment of the nation. The Church itself is called the "National Church" (*iNkonzo yeSizwe*) and it is the belief of its votaries that if the Bantu intelligentsia could support it the black race would march faster to freedom.

It may be true that a good number of the members of the Church have joined it because of religious motives and still regard it as the only right channel to heaven. But many, however, look upon the Church as the key to salvation from the oppressive laws imposed by the White man, and from exploitation. This is made clear by the fact that a great deal of emphasis is laid on material strength; and business enterprise as a means to independence is encouraged. "We cannot worship God genuinely if we are hungry", someone said to us. Material wealth is the key to spiritual wealth.

Commercial Undertakings.

(a) *Farms.*

The Bishop has long cherished the idea of buying himself at least one farm but the restrictions placed on the purchasing of land by Natives in the Union have prevented him from acquiring landed property. As a result he has had to hire farms from European farmers, except at Veeplaats where, besides those hired from other Africans, he has been able to buy one.

The Bishop has leased three portions of farms in the Alexandria districts, one at Buyskloof which we visited, another at Zuney and the third at De Kol.

The farm at Buyskloof, for which the Bishop pays a yearly rental of sixty pounds (£60), is fairly big. Part of the farm has been turned into a cattle paddock and fenced by the Bishop at his own expense. The cost of fencing amounted to about £200. We were made to understand that in order to recover the expenditure on the fencing the Bishop and the farmer have agreed to a reduced

yearly rental over a number of years. The lower portion of the farm, about 14 acres in extent, is used for arable purposes. The Bishop has worked in this particular area for ten years, five of which have been spent on this farm.

The farm is used mainly for the production of pumpkins, wheat and maize, while those at De Kol and Zuney are used solely for the production of firewood. All this produce is taken to Port Elizabeth by lorries of which the Bishop has about half-a-dozen, plus a light delivery van which cost him £550.

There is a man in charge of this farm who until quite recently has been earning a wage of £4 a month plus food from Headquarters and some produce from the farm. Recently a portion of the farm has been set aside for his use but he still enjoys his wages which have now been increased to £6. The man expressed satisfaction with this mode of life. In the other farms also there are managers earning a similar wage. They are assisted by a number of men, some to fell the wood, others to help in ploughing and general farm work, while women, at any rate at Veeplaats, do the hoeing. All are members of the Church.

On the farm we saw various implements including ploughs, planters, and an old waggon. It is interesting to note that the cattle bore the brand JL (James Limba). As a matter of fact all farms are stocked with agricultural implements: ploughs, harrows, planters, and two tractors—the last are used on the various farms as the need arises, and they cost £680 each. About a year ago the Bishop bought himself a tractor-drawn threshing machine which he hires out to European farmers.

At Veeplaats, a little place about ten miles from Port Elizabeth, the Bishop has bought himself a farm, a portion of which is used as a poultry farm. The Bishop indicated that the fowls brought him a good deal of profit and that he desired to have more fowls. Some of the best breeds had been bought for him by one of the Church men from a poultry dealer in Johannesburg. There are some turkeys and ducks too.

The remaining portion of the farm was simply covered with pumpkins leaving only a small square for mealies. The Bishop said that the

pumpkins brought him more money: therefore he cultivated more pumpkins. At the time of the visit there were some women hoeing the fields. When they saw the Bishop they all cast their eyes upon the ground trying to avoid meeting his eyes. On shaking hands with him they, like the other members of the Church, used both hands as a sign of respect for the greatness of the Bishop.

Attached to the farm are a number of small houses erected by the Bishop which he leases out to his people. Incidentally Veeplaats is a very dry place and hitherto the Port Elizabeth municipality has not extended the water supply system to it. As a result the people have to buy water at Redhouse, a place about four miles away. Those of them who have carts go as far as Port Elizabeth in order to obtain water which they sell to their neighbours. To obviate this difficulty for those resident on his premises the Bishop has built a dam.

Besides this farm there are three others, two of which the Bishop has leased, while the third is occupied on a share-crop basis. These farms were also covered with pumpkins. Although the Bishop would have liked to buy these farms unfortunately the owners were not willing to sell.

At Kirkwood the Bishop rents another two farms which are used for cattle raising purposes. From these the Bishop gets stock for his butchery as well as butter.

At Lake Farm, a place about fourteen miles to the west of Port Elizabeth, the Bishop rents yet another farm where he cultivates pumpkins and mealies.

The produce from these farms, as has already been pointed out, is carried to Headquarters by means of lorries. In addition there is a fleet of waggons—some horse drawn and others cattle drawn.

At Headquarters.

A little outside, to the east of New Brighton, there are stables where the Bishop keeps a number of horses, mules, and cattle. The animals are in good condition and are looked after by servants who are also members of the Church. Particularly attractive is a thorough-bred Afrikander bull with a golden ring in the nose. There is also a fine

Friesland bull. Both are stud animals. There are also some thorough-bred Friesland cows which yield a lot of milk from which the Bishop makes butter. This butter together with that produced at Kirkwood is sold mainly to his people.

Firewood is stacked in the store yard. Some of it is taken up by members of the Church and the rest is sold to members of the public at 1s. 9d. per bag. Lorries and mule drawn waggons play an important part in the distribution not only of firewood but also of pumpkins, and compete favourably with other merchants for this product.

The food products are consumed mainly by the members of the Church. The surplus, especially of pumpkins, is sold to the public. Incidentally the pumpkins are a very profitable investment. It is estimated that in the Buyskloof farm alone over 600 pumpkins produced in 1944 sold at an average price of 2s. each. Some of the maize is ground into mealie meal from which a beverage (*mareu u, umdoko*) is made for sale exclusively to the members of the Church especially on Saturdays and Sundays. In 1945 the wheat from the farms was threshed at Headquarters and the straw therefrom is being used as cattle fodder. The wheat is also ground into meal and put on the market for sale.

(b) Stores.

A few yards from the "Bishop's Palace" there are two stores—one a butchery and the other a general dealer's shop—both of which go under the name of "The Bantu Trading Store" with "Bishop J. Limba (Prop.)" below the name. These stores were started in 1940 and, with the exception of the butchery today which, like other butcheries, has been hard hit by the drought, have been doing flourishing business, for the Bishop finds a ready market especially among the members of the Church.

It is unfortunate that we could not get any figures relating to the capital invested in the stores and the returns accruing therefrom. It must be noted, however, that these stores are well stocked, especially the general dealer's shop. It would be safe to estimate the turnover at about £1,000 per month. At the end of each day the takings, which range from £50 on other days of the week to £150

on Fridays, are handed over to the Bishop. As in all other enterprises of the Church only those who are members of the Church are employed in the stores.

The Church is handicapped by a serious lack of skilled and competent personnel in its commercial undertakings: in fact there are none with the exception of a casual European book-keeper. This lack of accountants, qualified book-keepers, etc., is, in a way, an expression of the level of education to which the members of the Church have attained, for only the members participate in the commercial life of the Church. So far the Church has made no attempt to train the necessary personnel, possibly because the Bishop contends that education is a thing of this world. In fact he holds all learning in contempt because his Church is living testimony of the fact that a man can succeed in life without education, with only God as his inspiration.

Material wealth has come to play a dominant part in the mentality of the members of the Church of Christ. The Bishop is himself imbued with the ideas of wealth, so much so that a greater part of his conversation is about his riches, the desire to accumulate more and how much the White man envies him these.

Because Bishop Limba's people look upon all he says and does as right and exemplary, the idea of the importance of economic independence has permeated through the entire group. This is expressed in the fact that whenever it is possible to do so Bishop Limba's people hazard to undertake any sort of business enterprise so long as it can assure them livelihood without having to go and work for wages. Such occupations range from the selling of bones and bottles, and second-hand clothes to the running of shops and taxi ownership. We met some successful and very enthusiastic business men among them.

Artisans, such as shoemakers, masons, qualified handworkers of various kinds, etc., are particularly encouraged to develop their skill, not only by the Bishop, but also by their fellows. We have not heard of any instance, however, where they have been backed up financially. The backing takes the form of encouraging talks and buying

from them. At New Brighton there are two carpenters' shops, run by the members of the Church, which turn out quite good articles and furniture of various kinds, and they are doing good business.

SOCIAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Economic Reciprocity.

It is said that if a member of the Church cannot find work, Bishop Limba provides him with food until such time as he finds employment. Such expenses as the Bishop may incur on his behalf are not recorded and no compensation is supposed to be paid by the man concerned if he strikes a job. When one is out of work one may receive assistance from the Bishop, but all expenses are recorded.

But everybody is expected to render free service to the Bishop if it is in his power so to do. One frequently sees men lounging about the Bishop's place, eager to help when their help is required. This is especially the case during holidays when a large number of people are at home. Those who are not in employment are sometimes taken in lorries to work at the farms. This is especially the case during the harvesting season when even those who are employed are called upon to help with the work on Sundays. This effects a great saving for they are not paid. Every night men do guard duty around the Church and the girls' quarters. They are not paid for this service.

Representatives of the Bishop, we were told, who from time to time are sent to visit branches outside Port Elizabeth, do not receive any remuneration except that the Bishop defrays their travelling expenses from the Church funds.

Some of the members of the Church have joined the Bantu Benevolent Society where they receive some charitable assistance. At Korsten the Church uses the property purchased in 1928, for the use of the Bishop, for housing the aged, indigent and orphans and widows.

The degree of exchange of gifts is not well marked. But there is some giving and receiving of gifts at marriage, although this is not as organised as it is among the Bantu people at large, both

belonging to the other Churches and those not affiliated to any sect.

Our informants told us that when the Church was still in its infancy there was considerable mutual help among the members of the Church. But as time went on and the desire for individual prosperity gained root more and more, this phenomenon gradually disappeared, until now it has become almost negligible. People have become business-minded and profit-making is now a dominating feature in their lives.

Girls at the Bishop's Place.

Manageable girls live with their parents, but should any girl get out of hand and become impossible, she may be, and is generally taken to *ekhaya* by her parents to learn good behaviour. Such girls, with the Bishop's consent, may go and work in town but their earnings must go into helping their parents.

But besides these girls there are others who have become orphaned and have nobody to care for them. These are regarded as belonging to the Church. All their earnings plus the *lobolo* given for them are spent at the discretion of the Bishop. Should their husbands ill-treat or in any way desert them, or die and leave them unprotected, they may go back to the Bishop's place—their home—and are accepted and protected.

In the case of those girls who live at the Bishop's place who still have parents, the *khazi* goes to their parents. And if they are working in town and only come to sleep at the Bishop's place (they are not allowed to sleep at their place of work), they are expected to pay something for their evening meals, which they get there.

The girls are strictly guarded at night—there are night guards for this purpose. If seen with a man even during the day, they are reported to *Tata* who harangues them. All girls in the Church are expected to live a chaste, clean and upright moral life.

DOCTRINE

The Church believes the Bible to be the only true and inspired word of God, the precepts of which it purports to follow without modification

(Deuteronomy 4, 2 and 12, 32; Joshua 1, 7; Proverbs 30, 6; Ecclesiasticus 12, 13; Revelations 22, 18-19). It believes itself to be the only Church that follows these precepts not only in the spirit but also in the letter.

From this derives its outlook and attitude not only in regard to itself but to other Churches, Black-White relations, and to Bantu customs and traditions generally. This acceptance of the Bible *almost* literally gives the Church its peculiar character and enables it to find justification in the Bible for all its actions.

The Church believes itself to be in the direct line of descent from the Church of the Apostles and therefore that of Christ. Hence the name The Church of Christ. The other churches, including the Separatist, do not fall into this category for they have deviated from the sanctions of the Scriptures by giving themselves names which are the product of man's imagination (Acts 4, 11-12; St. Matthew 1, 21; 1 Timothy 2, 5-6). The only name for any Church that is truly Christian should therefore be The Church of Christ.

The history of Apostasy, that is, the movement which fell away from the Church of the Apostles, is believed to have started with the establishment of the Church of Rome. The Roman Catholic Church is therefore branded as the mother of Apostasy, the Pope (Vicarius Filii Dei giving the number 666,¹ the mark of the Beast referred to in Revelations 13, 18) being the Apostate-in-Chief.

The ministers of religion, who are looked upon as false prophets (2 Peter 2, 1; Acts 20, 30; etc.), have treacherously misled the African people, teaching them "doctrines of devils" (1 Timothy 4, 1). They must be exterminated.

Like all other Christian Churches, the Church of Christ believes in God—albeit a particular God, differing from that of the White man. This God is almost identical with the *Qamatha* of the

¹ The number 666 is arrived at in the following manner: All the letters in VICARIUS FILII DEI representing numbers in the Roman numeral system are added together. Thus V represents 5; I, 1; C, 100; I, 1; U, 5 in VICARIUS, while the three I's in FILII gives 3, the L, 50; the D in DEI 500, the I another 1—all working out at 666 when added together.

Xhosa and *Nkulunkulu* of the Zulu (not in the Christian sense of the word) with the Bishop playing a rôle parallel to that of Christ. Between this God and the people stands the Bishop himself, who the more powerful he becomes the more he arrogates unto himself mystic attributes even to the extent of withholding and bringing about the rain in order to bring humanity to the realization of the abundance of its sins. *UTHixo kaTata uqumbile*; *uTata umi bucala* (Our Father's God is wrathful; *Tata* standeth aloof); *UTHixo kaTata uyibambile imvula, angayinisa ethanda* (*Tata's* God withholdeth the rain, he may cause it to fall when it pleaseth him). Thus the men preach. In short, *UTata umi phakathi kwethu noThixo wakhe* (*Tata* stands between us and his God). This is a national God (Micah 4, 5).

CONCLUSIONS

From the fact that this sect has an exclusive God who can be tapped only through the mediation of *Tata* and the fact that it has a purely African following, it follows that its doctrine cannot be untainted by nationalistic tendencies. And it does preach nationalism of a sort with *Tata* occupying a position analogous to that of Moses in relation to the children of Israel. *Yiyol' indod' ethunywe nguYehova ukuBa ize kukhulula isizwe* (Here is the man whom Jehovah has sent to deliver the nation). All activities of the Church are thus directed towards exalting *Tata*—the national leader.

According to Bishop Limba's people the truths of the Bible reveal that the customs approved of by Christianity, especially the old Testament, are in no way different from those practised by their forefathers. *Ntsikana*, the African "prophet" foreshadowed this. In short the Bible is meant for the African (Isaiah 18 : 1, 2).

As this is supposed to be a national church what attitude does it adopt towards Bantu tradition and custom? We have every reason to believe that for all that the Church has to say, it has not actually divorced itself from these institutions. It is not that it practises these traditions covertly or covers them with a Christian coating, but that many things in the Bible do find analogies in

Bantu tradition. To illustrate this point, it should be mentioned that the Church discourages the use of clan names and belief in witchcraft. In this it differs from many an otherwise Christian sect including the European controlled churches.

From this it is possible to say that the Church has added nothing new to Christianity since it is part of its doctrine neither to add to nor subtract from the Scriptures. It has merely taken over the Bible and discovered in it a justification for nationalism and Bantu ancestor cult. Even such divine services as the blessing of children and baptism by immersion in a river do find parallels in Bantu practices. It was customary to kill a goat for an infant on its tenth day of life as a means of thanking the ancestral spirits for the newborn and to ensure that they would shower their blessings on it. Incidentally this custom is called *ukuBingelela* (blessing). *Abakhwetha* (male initiants) and *intonjane* (female initiants) had to perform their final ablutions in a river before they could be accepted into the community in much the same way that baptism is regarded by Christians as a prerequisite to participation in the Christian way of life. Thus the Church reinforces Biblical teachings by reference to Bantu practices.

"The Church of Christ" is different from all the other Churches for it stresses not only the spiritual but also the material well-being of its members. As we have constantly pointed out the spiritual life of the whole Church pivots around the Bishop. Therefore the spiritual and material prosperity of each individual member is bound up with the spiritual and material prosperity of the others, collectively finding concrete expression in the spiritual and material prosperity of the Bishop. So that the prosperity of the individual is nothing to the prosperity of the whole as realized in the Bishop. In the prosperity of the Bishop the members see their own prosperity in the same way that a child sees his own prosperity in the prosperity of his father.

The position of the Bishop in the Church has the blessing of the members who regard Deuteronomy 28, 1-14, as sanctifying his position, verses 11-13 being particularly pertinent.

This philosophy more than anything else has

contributed to the stability of the Church. Whether this condition will continue indefinitely is a matter for speculation. Below we give what we consider as some of the reasons which have contributed to the stability of the institution.

Reasons for Stability.

1. The Bishop is the centre of attraction and inspiration and is a commanding personality.
2. There is also the belief that he is a prophet sent by God to deliver the sadly misled African millions.
3. He is the richest man in the Church, and, no doubt, this adds considerably to his power.
4. The Church property is looked upon as a common possession of all members and no doubt there is the belief by individual members that it will devolve on them in the event of the Bishop's death.
5. It is also believed that the Bishop is the father of all and will look after their interests at all times, although as we have seen, when it comes to the payment of *lobolo* and marriage this is not strictly adhered to; he merely sanctions an approved arrangement.
6. The Bishop violently opposes back-biting, so that even if someone may have something to complain about he finds it difficult to express it to his *basakwana* (brethren) or *bodade* (sisters) for fear that they may take the matter to the Bishop, who punishes such severely and may even excommunicate persons guilty of such offences.
7. Accusations of witchcraft are common among the Bantu especially where they live together in big numbers. These more often than not lead to quarrels. To guard against such quarrels, which might upset the stability of the Church, the Bishop actively discourages accusations of witchcraft by insisting that the complainants bring the *mpundulu* (lightning bird) or *hili*

(hobgoblin) on leash before the matter can be dealt with. In the course of an inspiring sermon, a preacher related how *Tata* once settled effectively the case of a certain woman who complained of nocturnal visitations by an *impundulu*. *Tata* sent a man one night to keep watch in order to rope the "bird" if it should make an appearance. In due course the woman screamed and the man, hearing this, jumped into the room where she slept only to be told by the woman that the "bird" had flown!

8. Another factor which we think contributes a great deal to the stability of the Church is the discouragement of the use of clan names and kinship terms. Kinship groups bound together by a number of mutual obligations would tend to weaken centralization. The Limbaite do not use clan names amongst themselves. They are *mzalwana* and *dade* to one another. It is only in case of marriage that the question of clan names crops up and this by way of guarding against clan endogamy.

9. It is true that some members stick to the Church for religious considerations but even this pivots round *Tata*, for the God they worship is their Father's God—*Thixo kaTata*, they say in supplication. The extremely religious ones believe that there is something mysterious about the Church as a whole. They argue that it is impossible for one to know about the Church if one does not belong to it, if one has not been baptised in their fashion. It requires divine inspiration to master the complexities of the Church of Christ. One man told us that even the Bishop himself does not know where his power comes from, for it is ordained by God, who is also responsible for the Church's being what it is. "It is difficult even to me", he said, "being in it, to know all the ways and secrets of the Church. How much more difficult must it be to an outsider?"

LES LANGUES INDIGENES ET LES EUROPEENS AU CONGO BELGE

Par G. HULSTAERT

Les agents de l'Etat indépendant pénétrant par le Bas-Congo pouvaient déjà profiter, pour apprendre la langue indigène, des connaissances acquises par les commerçants installés à Boma et de l'oeuvre du missionnaire protestant Bentley. Celui-ci avait mis par écrit *ki.kongo*, deux siècles après l'oeuvre tombée dans l'oubli du P. Georges de Geel, missionnaire catholique au XVII^e siècle.¹

Tandis que les agents gouvernementaux et commerciaux restaient rarement à des postes fixes, les missionnaires dont le ministère vise à une transformation plus profonde, étaient plus stables. Aussi s'attachaient-ils davantage à l'étude des populations indigènes et de leurs langues. Ce qui était d'ailleurs nécessité par leur oeuvre qui ne pouvait porter ses fruits que par une connaissance approfondie et sympathique de ceux qu'ils espéraient attirer à une religion et une morale supérieures. Cela peut expliquer pourquoi tout ce que nous savons des langues congolaises est dû presque uniquement aux missionnaires, catholiques ou protestants.

LANGUES INTERTRIBALES

L'occupation du territoire congolais se fit à une allure si rapide, avec l'appui de forces militaires, que les agents de l'état et des sociétés changeaient continuellement de région et ne pouvaient donc s'assimiler les langues des diverses populations avec lesquelles ils entraient en contact. On peut voir là une des causes de l'éclosion des langues de traite, parfois appelées *linguae francae*, ou langues commerciales, ou langues intertribales; termes qui ne sont pas toujours bien définis et qui ont provoqué pas mal de confusions et de discussions stériles.

Il faut y ajouter que très tôt des soldats et des travailleurs furent engagés dans les diverses tribus et groupés dans des centres militaires ou administratifs ainsi que dans les plantations soit gouvernementales soit privées. Ces indigènes ne pou-

vaient faire autrement qu'apprendre le langage de leurs maîtres qui eux-mêmes n'en savaient pas lourd. D'ailleurs, partout où un mélange d'individus d'origine linguistique variée a lieu pour des relations temporaires (commerce, travail, etc.) on assiste à l'éclosion de pareils perlers (sabir, pidgin, etc.).

Les Européens avaient donc commencé par apprendre quelques éléments de *ki.kongo*. Pour leur contact avec les indigènes, ils n'avaient pas besoin d'un grand bagage linguistique. Quelques phrases usuelles leur suffisaient. L'accoutumance et la fine psychologie du Noir aidant, on pouvait beaucoup dire avec peu de mots. Encore à ce jour avec deux mots *li.ngala*, p. ex. *pesa mai*, on peut exprimer, tant au singulier qu'au pluriel, plusieurs phrases françaises, comme : donne l'eau, donne de l'eau, donne-moi l'eau, donne-lui l'eau, apporte (moi) de l'eau, puise de l'eau, va puiser de l'eau, pompe l'eau, etc. Les circonstances compléteront et l'ordre sera quand même exécuté. Possédant ce moyen simple et facile, et risquant toujours d'être déplacés à bref délai, rares sont les Européens qui voudraient s'astreindre à l'étude d'une vraie langue, étude qui prend nécessairement des années et qui sous les tropiques et au milieu d'une multitude d'autres besognes est doublement dure.

Le *ki.kongo* commercial ou *fiote* ou *keleve-ki.kongo*, appelé encore par les indigènes de certaines régions : *kileta* (=langue de l'état), s'est propagé dans toute la région occupée par les *Bakongo* jusque dans Léopoldville, au *Kwango* et au Lac Léopold II.

Entretemps l'occupation continuait dans les autres régions. Des postes et des missions furent fondés chez les *Bo.bangi*, habitant les rives du fleuve Congo depuis l'embouchure du Kasai jusque près de Coquilhatville et sur le bas-Ubangi. La langue de cette tribu fournit la base d'une nouvelle langue de traite. Comme les dialectes

riverains d'en amont lui sont très apparentés et qu'un nombre considérable de soldats et travailleurs provenaient de la Cuvette centrale où règne sur un grand territoire un groupe de dialectes tous très proches les uns des autres (Môngo, ou Nkundo, autrefois aussi Lolo), cette nouvelle langue commerciale prenait très vite une grande extension, favorisée par les postes de Bolobô, de l'Equateur-Station (depuis : Coquilhatville) et de Nouvel-Anvers, par le camp militaire de Yumbi, puis d'Irebu, les missions de Bolobo, de Lukolela et de Nouvel-Anvers.

Dans l'Est de la Colonie les Arabisés esclavagistes avaient introduit le ki.swahili. Après leur défaite, leur langue véhiculaire fut reprise par les Européens soit parce que cela facilitait les relations avec les indigènes soit parce que plusieurs considéraient ces Arabisés comme un facteur de civilisation. La limite approximative de l'extension du ki.swahili est le fleuve Congo (Lualaba) quoique les incursions des Arabisés l'aient dépassé partout.

Au Kasai les Européens, dès von Wissmann, avaient commencé à employer le tshi.luba,² comme le furent les autres langues.

Enfin, tout au Nord, chez les tribus à langue "soudanaise", le Sango fut accepté, basé sur le dialecte riverain des Ngbandi.

Introduites par l'état qu'elles ne connaissaient qu'elles, ces langues finirent par couvrir des aires coïncidant avec les grandes divisions administratives.

Elles se simplifièrent très vite dans la bouche des Européens et de leurs auxiliaires. Elle se modifièrent aussi au contact d'autres langues, locales ou "intertribales". En même temps elles s'appauvrirent.

Le bo.bangi reçut des mots ki.kongo et ki.swahili et est devenu le li.ngala, qui à son tour a agi sur le ki.kongo, depuis qu'il a conquis la capitale, et étendu son influence sur le chemin de fer et Matadi.

En pénétrant au Kwango le ki.kongo s'est beaucoup appauvri. Le ki.swahili de son côté est devenu au Congo le ki.ngwana, bien plus pauvre que son père, mais plus riche que les autres langues commerciales.³

Généralement, les missions ont réagi pour en-

richir ces langues par l'apport des dialectes régionaux. Ainsi les missions catholiques de Nouv. Anvers, de Lisala et de Buta.

Les premières ont emprunté au lingombe et aux idiomes de la Ngiri : leur Vocabulaire contient surtout des mots de ces derniers, tandis que leur grammaire est basée sur le bo.bangi, le bo.loki, l'i.boko, le li.bale, et apparentés. Buta a travaillé sur la base bo.bangi—i.boko de Mgr E. De Boeck mais a emprunté, souvent avec peu de discrimination, beaucoup de mots aux dialectes locaux.

De son côté M. Guthrie préfère, quant à la grammaire, le lingala tel qu'il est parlé, mais enrichit le vocabulaire au moyen des dialectes riverains et Ngombe du Haut-Fleuve.⁴

Les partisans de la "rebantouisation" du lingala se trouvent un peu dans tous les milieux. Il faut cependant constater que l'Européen moyen s'intéresse fort médiocrement à cette question.

Ces questions préoccupent surtout les missionnaires. La position de ceux-ci suit, dans la règle, —qui admet des exceptions—la ligne confessionnelle : les catholiques sont rebantouisants, les protestants préfèrent conserver le lingala populaire, c.à.d. le lingala tel qu'il est parlé par la population où il est en usage (cfr. e.a. Congo Mission News n° 131 p. 3-4). Mais tous travaillent à enrichir, de façon ou d'autre, le vocabulaire qui convenant très bien à une lingua franca—dont les propriétés essentielles sont précisément la simplicité et la pauvreté—est absolument insuffisante pour le développement littéraire et l'évolution culturelle.

Au bas-Congo la situation ne paraît pas uniforme. Tandis que d'autres tiennent à la langue pure des indigènes, d'autres font des concessions plus ou moins grandes au parler commercial qui, au Kwango, est devenu prédominant.

Nous constatons ici un double courant : le désir de tenir la langue aussi près du peuple que possible et d'autre part celui de remédier à son appauvrissement grammatical et lexicologique. Ces tendances travaillent aussi à Léopoldville où l'on semble chercher une solution mitoyenne.

Le li.ngala est la langue indigène en usage dans la Force Publique (Armée), sur tout le territoire

de la Colonie (comme c'est naturel, l'armée étant partout une nouvelle). Par là des indigènes connaissant le li.ngala peuvent se trouver un peu partout au Congo. Devant entrer en contact plus ou moins fréquent avec les soldats, les natifs ont le plus grand intérêt à apprendre au moins un peu de li.ngala.

Ce patronage de la Force Publique, se joignant à la prédominance de la capitale, a contribué puissamment à l'extension du li.ngala. Ainsi ce langage a conquis l'Uele jusqu'aux frontières, et remplacé le ki.kongo au Lac Léopold II et le sango dans l'Ubangi.

D'un autre côté, le li.ngala a pénétré dans l'A. E. F. à Brazzaville, vers Pointe Noire, et le long des affluents du Congo ; tandis que le sango continue à régner dans les régions de l'Ubangi-Chari.

Refoulé par le li.ngala dans la région de Basoko-Stanleyville et dans le Nord, le ki.ngwana reste solidement ancré au Katanga et de là s'étend le long du chemin de fer vers l'Ouest. Sa pénétration dans le Ruanda-Urundi est contrecarrée par les Missions et par les chefs indigènes.

Les moyens employés par les missions pour enrichir les parlers intertribaux sont évidemment l'enseignement et la littérature. Il est difficile de juger du succès obtenu jusqu'à présent. Dans les régions que nous connaissons ils ne sont pas très palpables. Ailleurs on nous dit qu'ils donnent des résultats.⁵ Pour le ki.swahili M. Liesenborghs a pu constater que même les instituteurs en classe retournaient à leur ki.ngwana dès qu'à la surveillance immédiate se relachait.⁶

De ce qui précède on peut déduire que la plus grande confusion règne autour de termes comme li.ngala, ki.kongo, etc. appliqués indistinctement à des réalités fort différentes. Parfois deux livres écrits p. ex. en li.ngala emploient deux langues nettement différentes. Il faut prendre connaissance du contenu pour savoir dans quelle langue l'ouvrage est composé. Un nom comme li.ngala (et dans une moindre mesure, ki.kongo ou tshi.luba) est une étiquette appliquée à des marchandises très différentes et de valeur très inégale.⁷

La colonisation, en favorisant l'éclosion et l'extension de ces langues intertribales, a rendu

plus aisé le contact entre les Européens et les indigènes et les relations entre membres de peuplades différentes. La contre-partie en a été une complication de la situation linguistique. Et cela non seulement par l'ajoute de nouvelles langues (à la longue durée l'extinction de certains dialectes autochtones pourrait rétablir la balance numérique) ; mais surtout parce que les langues commerciales évoluent elles-mêmes. Leur indigence cherche forcément des compléments dans les langues locales. Et les éléments de base changent naturellement tant phonétiquement que grammaticalement : songez aux grandes différences entre les langues soudanaises, nilotiques et bantoues, voire à l'intérieur de chaque groupe.

De ce fait ces langues intertribales se scindent en dialectes qui se différencient de plus en plus. Si l'évolution continue, l'unification linguistique que certains avaient escomptée n'aura pas fait de progrès : on aura simplement remplacé telles langues par telles autres, les nouvelles étant même plus pauvres que les anciennes ; de sorte que sur l'ensemble il y aura régression au lieu de progrès.⁸

De leur côté les Européens complètent au moyen de mots français dont une partie passe ainsi définitivement dans la langue. Non seulement on pourra alors entendre dans la bouche d'Européens des phrases comme : pesa épingle na matiti na ngai (donne épingle de herbe [=cheveux] de moi) ou : tiya chaise penepene na lit (place la chaise près du lit) ; même un capitaine de bateau indigène pur sang dira au barreur son congénère : ajali moke difficile, puisque tokomi na sable (c'est petit [=un peu] difficile, puisque nous sommes arrivés au sable). Pour le Blanc ces parlers n'en deviennent que plus faciles et plus estimées que les langues tribales, traitées de "sauvages", de "patois."

Celles-ci sont à leur tour influencées par les parlers intertribaux. Mais ce processus mériterait une étude spéciale.

L'expansion des langues intertribales progresse-t-elle encore ? Il est malaisé de connaître la réalité. Des missionnaires ayant passé plus de 30 ans dans une région m'ont affirmé que la situation n'a pas changé depuis leur arrivée. D'autres prétendent que les langues commerciales font encore

des conquêtes. J'estime que de grandes différences existent selon les régions. Dans les tribus en contact plus récent avec les Blancs la langue commerciale progresse sans doute. Des régions d'occupation déjà vieille semblent rester stationnaires. L'expansion de la langue commerciale est activée par l'industrialisation ou la prolétarianisation agricole ; mais dans la région que je connais personnellement le mieux on constate qu'à partir d'un certain point le progrès est arrêté. On dirait qu'il existe un point de saturation.

Cet arrêt doit-il être attribué à la réaction de la langue maternelle quelle que soit par ailleurs la forme plus ou moins instinctive de cette réaction ? ou bien à la concurrence croissante du français comme "langue du Blanc", comme parler "civilisé" ? Probablement aux deux facteurs ensemble. Et il faut sans doute y ajouter la pauvreté en moyens d'expression d'idées et de sentiments qui est la tare des parlers intertribaux, et spécialement du lingala.

D'autre part on constate dans les grands centres que des enfants indigènes en nombre croissant ne connaissent plus ou seulement d'une manière superficielle la langue tribale de leurs parents. Pour ces enfants la langue commerciale devient la langue maternelle. Le degré de cette "détrébalisation linguistique" varie grandement avec l'éloignement ou la proximité de l'habitat de la tribu d'origine, la fréquence des contacts avec celle-ci et le degré de détribalisation.

L'enseignement, de son côté, active le processus, puisqu'il n'y admet en fait de langue indigène que le parler commercial ou intertribal et souvent même utilise exclusivement le français.

De toute façon la situation linguistique des centres reste très embrouillée et fort précaire. La nouvelle génération recevant comme langue maternelle une "lingua franca" ne peut indéfiniment s'en contenter. Comme tout homme et tout groupement humain elle a un besoin naturel de posséder un instrument apte à formuler ses pensées et à exprimer ses sentiments. Ne le possédant pas de par sa première éducation elle se le formera instinctivement, soit en adoptant le français transformé à sa façon, soit en enrichissant son parler

commercial, soit forgeant "un petit nègre" hybride français bantouisé ou bantou francisé.

EMPLOI DES LANGUES INDIGENES

Cette digression est indispensable pour comprendre la situation linguistique au Congo par rapport aux Européens. Ceux-ci sont, pour la question qui nous occupe, à diviser en deux catégories : les missionnaires et les "civils". Parmi ces derniers ceux qui ont appris une langue tribale sont "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*". Nous en connaissons quelques-uns pour le lomongo. Des amis nous en ont signalé d'autres pour le kikongo, et un nombre plus élevé pour le tshiluba. Parfois des colons ou commerçants établis de longue date, tout en ne parlant pas la langue locale, la comprennent. Dans les centres le nombre d'Européens ne connaissant pas même les éléments d'une langue commerciale croît proportionnellement avec celui des indigènes connaissant le français.

Une des raisons de la faveur dont jouissent les parlers intertribaux est le nombre des langues autochtones parlées au Congo Belge. On dit souvent qu'il dépasse deux-cents. Sur ce sujet règne beaucoup de confusion et d'ignorance. Souvent les affirmations sont faites avec un aplomb d'autant plus grand qu'on a moins étudié la question et qu'on se rend moins bien compte de la situation linguistique réelle de l'Europe.

Le fait est que le catalogue des langues congolaises n'a pas encore été dressé et que les degrés d'affinité entre les langues et dialectes connus n'ont pas encore été établis. Mais on sait du moins, par science non éditée, que le nombre est de loin inférieur aux chiffres phantastiques admis communément et qui ne peuvent être retenus qu'en comptant comme langues une quantité de dialectes.⁹

Malgré tout, le nombre est encore assez considérable pour notre tendance à tout mettre sur une échelle nationale, ou d'état, de circonscription administrative, économique, ecclésiastique, etc. Cependant, à côté de plusieurs domaines linguistiques si petits qu'ils sont pratiquement négligeables, il existe au Congo certains groupes relativement très grands, aptes à satisfaire à tout

besoins culturels. P. ex.: Ki.kongo, tshi.luba, lo.mongo, a.zande, kinya.rwanda.

L'éclosion des langues commerciales a entravé l'étude des langues autochtones, surtout dans les régions où les premières ont été adoptées par les missions et où elles se sont trouvées en présence d'une situation linguistique peu homogène. Ainsi on sait très peu au sujet des langues parlées dans le Kwango, dans le Nord et dans l'Est de la Colonie. Par contre, là où les missionnaires se sont attachés aux langues indigènes, celles-ci ont fait l'objet d'études très poussées. Il faut citer ici particulièrement le travail des Pères Capucins de l'Ubangi et celui des Franciscains de Katanga, dans des régions linguistiquement compliquées. Il va sans dire que les langues à aire géographique très étendue ont joui de la faveur des chercheurs: ki.kongo, tshi.luba, lo.mongo, e.a.

LES LANGUES INDIGENES ET LES MISSIONS

La délimitation des circonscriptions missionnaires—comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, la question linguistique intéresse surtout les missions—a créé un obstacle à l'emploi des langues autochtones. Car ces divisions coupent souvent à travers les tribus et les langues.

L'importance relative, en nombre et en étendue, des langues ainsi divisées a de ce fait été notablement diminuée. Chaque église ou chaque société missionnaire doit partager son personnel entre plus de groupes linguistiques. Il en est de même du temps et des ressources à consacrer à la préparation de livres religieux ou scolaires et aux écoles spéciales; sans compter la nécessité de mutations. Une langue parlée par 300.000 indigènes a plus de chance d'être employée si elle est fait entièrement partie d'une seule mission que si elle est divisée entre plusieurs circonscriptions. Dans ce dernier cas, souvent il n'y a que l'un ou l'autre missionnaire qui étudie la langue, et la production littéraire se borne au catéchisme, au livre de prières ou à ou a la bible.

Dès le début les missions ont adopté la politique de ne pas pousser chaque dialecte, mais en ayant choisi un,—généralement celui qui est parlé

aux environs du poste principal,—de l'employer dans d'autres dialectes apparentés et ainsi d'établir dans leur territoire une langue unifiée, non par mélange mais par la voie plus simple de la prédominance, ainsi que cela s'est passé en Europe. En outre chaque mission tend à se cantonner à l'intérieur des limites de son territoire sans tenir compte des dialectes parlés chez le voisin. Jusqu'à présent, les essais d'entente sont restés isolés et n'ont donné que peu de résultats pratiques.

Cette situation existe tant à l'intérieur d'une confession, qu'entre confessions différentes travaillant dans la même entité linguistique.

Contre cette tendance bornée un projet d'unification enjambant les confessions et les circonscriptions a été lancé par Mr. E. De Jonghe, directeur général au ministère des colonies. En partant des sains principes pédagogiques et du respect des langues indigènes, mais constatant en même temps d'une part la multiplicité de celles-ci et d'autre part l'indigence des parlers intertribaux encore trop nombreux, il proposa l'adoption progressive d'une seule langue indigène pure, riche, parlée par une grande population: la tshi.luba. L'opposition venue de tous les coins et pour des motifs les plus divers, jointe aux positions acquises du li.ngala et du ki.ngwana, a empêché la réalisation du projet bien intentionné mais trop vaste et, dans la situation de fait, trop radical.¹⁰

Pour ma part j'opine que si le projet avait été étendu aux plus grandes langues tribales, on aurait pu faire avancer d'un pas décisif la simplification linguistique de la Colonie et l'épanouissement de parfaites langues culturelles.

Généralement mission catholique et mission protestante emploient la même langue, quoique mainte fois dans des dialectes différents, comme nous l'avons dit. Dans certaines régions, pourtant, leur politique linguistique est différente. Ainsi dans l'Ubangi, les Catholiques emploient les langues autochtones tandis que les Protestants utilisent le li.ngala.¹¹ Il en va de même dans la Haute Salonga-Loilaka. Le cas opposé se trouve dans la région de Yakusu, chez les Bobangi et chez les Ntomba du Lac Tumba, ainsi que pour les Ngombe de Lisala. La C.B.M. emploie le

li.mongo chez les Mongo et le li.ngombe chez les Ngombe, mais le li.ngala sur la rive droite du fleuve Congo.

Certaines missions font usage de la langue tribale dans l'instruction religieuse, tandis que pour les relations ordinaires et pour les écoles elles emploient une langue intertribale. C'est que l'instruction religieuse s'adresse à toute la population. La jeunesse des écoles apprend plus aisément la langue intertribale dans laquelle on peut ensuite continuer, jusqu'à un certain degré, l'enseignement. On espère encore enrichir ce parler et en faire une langue littéraire. L'emploi de la langue tribale n'est donc que temporaire et cessera dès que la masse aura appris cette nouvelle langue. Il va sans dire que dans la mise en pratique de ce système on peut rencontrer tous les degrés.

La production littéraire est évidemment en relation étroite avec la politique linguistique suivie par les diverses missions. La bibliographie en langues indigènes du Congo est déjà importante. Une liste compréhensive n'en a plus été éditée depuis l'ouvrage de F. Starr : *Bibliography of Congo Languages*, Chicago, 1908. Depuis cette date, on peut consulter la revue *Africa* et, récemment, *Aequatoria*. Pour les missions catholiques : Corman : *Annuaire des Missions Catholiques du Congo Belge*, 1935. Pour le groupe Mongo, la revue *Congo*, déc. 1937.

Les missions éditent plusieurs périodiques en langues indigènes, dont quelques-uns en lingala et en ki.swahili. Ils traitent de la religion, continuent l'enseignement scolaire, donnent des renseignements utiles sur plusieurs sujets, discutent parfois de questions indigènes ou sociales, sans négliger les nouvelles. Il est difficile de savoir le degré de succès obtenu par ces périodiques. Mais il semble bien qu'en général nos indigènes ne sont pas encore devenus des "lecteurs". Ils sont mus par l'intérêt immédiat plutôt que par le goût de la lecture ou par le désir du perfectionnement personnel. En outre, ces périodiques indigènes sont déjà concurrencés par des publications en français, qui leur semblent plus directement utiles ou satisfont davantage la vanité.

LA POSITION DU GOUVERNEMENT

Il n'existe aucun texte législatif concernant la politique linguistique du gouvernement. Si sa position officielle peut donc être considérée comme neutre, on ne peut cependant la dire indifférente. La pratique est un témoignage au moins aussi parlant qu'un texte. Le public ignore cependant si cette pratique se base sur des instructions, et quelle est la teneur de celles-ci. Mais un raisonnement a priori ne peut être taxé de téméraire.

A part une exception rarissime, les fonctionnaires et agents du gouvernement ne connaissent et n'emploient dans leurs relations avec les indigènes qu'une langue commerciale. Et ceci a été observé dès le début de la colonisation. Un auxiliaire ou "boy" peut servir d'interprète mais il peut être aussi absent.

Il n'existe aucune loi réglant l'usage des langues dans l'administration de la justice. Nous devons donc encore nous référer à la pratique.

Les différends portés devant les tribunaux indigènes doivent être inscrits dans des registres généralement imprimés en langue commerciale. Comme ces registres sont soumis au contrôle des fonctionnaires et des magistrats, ils doivent être tenus en langue européenne ou commerciale.

L'administrateur territorial est d'office président du tribunal indigène du territoire et, s'il est sur les lieux, aussi du tribunal de la circonscription indigène, chefferie ou secteur. Donc, au moins pour ces cas, l'emploi de la langue commerciale s'impose.

Dans les tribunaux européens auxquels sont réservés les cas graves et l'appel, tout se passe en français, avec le service d'interprètes assermentés. Si le magistrat connaît la langue commerciale il peut enquêter en celle-ci.

Si en matière linguistique il n'existe aucune obligation, encore moins : une contrainte, il ne faut pas une longue réflexion pour comprendre que la pratique administrative et judiciaire constitue une très forte pression. L'indigène qui s'exprime aisément dans la "langue du Blanc" possède du fait même une position avantagée. Il est difficile pour tout indigène d'éviter le contact du Blanc ou de ses hommes : soldats, policiers, chefs, juges, etc. Il a donc le plus grand intérêt

à connaître cette langue et à l'employer le cas échéant, même si rien ou personne ne l'y oblige. Et l'on sait ce que peuvent impliquer, dans les colonies africaines, les moindres insinuations.

Ici ou là on peut lire une défense d'entrer ou de passer, et analogues, en langue commerciale. Mais généralement ces textes sont soit en français, soit en français et néerlandais. Comme aussi les passeports, les livrets d'identité, les convocations pour le tribunal indigène, etc.

En dehors du français, l'armée emploie uniquement le *li.ngala* dont la connaissance est donc obligatoire pour tout soldat et, en temps de guerre, pour tout porteur militaire.

L'université coloniale d'Anvers et l'Ecole coloniale de Bruxelles ont institué des cours de langues intertribales, *li.ngala* et *ki.swahili*, dans leur forme "littéraire", grammaticalement proche d'une langue tribale (pour le *li.ngala*, la grammaire de Mgr De Boeck est en vogue). L'Université de Gand possède une chaire de langues bantoues ou le *tshi.luba* tribal est enseigné. Cette université possède donc une supériorité linguistique incontestée. Récemment des projets ont été faits pour l'institution d'une chaire de langues bantoues à l'Université de Louvain. Mais nous ignorons encore quelles langues y seront enseignées et sous quelle forme.

Les mutations fréquentes du personnel européen, soit du gouvernement soit des entreprises privées, ont empêché cet enseignement de porter tous ses fruits. Quand, après avoir étudié une langue, on est transféré dans un autre domaine linguistique, on n'est guère avide de recommencer les efforts. Par ailleurs, l'étude d'une langue tribale n'est pas encouragée.

DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT

L'enseignement pour indigènes comporte deux catégories d'écoles : les écoles officielles et les écoles privées. Parmi ces dernières on distingue les écoles érigées et financées par des sociétés industrielles (Union Minière, Géomines, Huilever, etc.) et les écoles des missions. Dès le début le gouvernement a fait appel aux missions nationales pour l'aider dans l'éducation des indigènes. Il leur octroie un subside mais les missions s'enga-

gent à exécuter le programme proposé par le gouvernement et à se soumettre à son inspection. Ce système a permis une extension considérable de l'enseignement primaire au Congo Belge.

Le programme prévu pour les écoles libres diffère de celui des écoles officielles, destinées à fournir aux Européens des auxiliaires indigènes (commis, clerks, artisans, etc.). Ce dernier est conçu entièrement en vue de ce but particulier. La langue véhiculaire est le français qui est une des matières dont les élèves auront le plus besoin plus tard. Ces écoles sont donc avant tout à considérer comme des écoles spéciales bien que la matière de l'enseignement primaire y soit aussi dispensé. La question de la langue indigène ne s'y pose donc pas. Pour autant qu'il peut être indispensable d'y recourir on fait usage de la langue de traite.

Le but des écoles primaires libres est de répandre le plus possible un enseignement élémentaire et une éducation au profit de la masse. Aussi la brochure—programme actuellement en vogue exige l'emploi de la langue indigène comme langue véhiculaire et en impose l'étude comme matière d'enseignement. On y lit : "Aux enfants des régions rurales. . . il . . . suffit de savoir lire, écrire et calculer en leur dialecte."

Après l'école du premier degré (2 années d'étude) le programme prévoit trois ans d'école de deuxième degré qui "grouperont des élèves sélectionnés". Parmi les cours essentiels est nommé : l'enseignement de la langue nationale qui, cependant, est indiquée plus loin comme obligatoire seulement dans les centres urbains.¹²

Dans les écoles spéciales pour candidats-commis, le français est considéré comme une des branches primordiales et diverses autres matières, tels l'arithmétique, la géographie, les sciences, l'histoire, doivent être enseignées en français.

L'importance de cette langue européenne est beaucoup moins accentuée dans les écoles professionnelles.

Quant à l'école normale, l'étude de la langue maternelle est imposé; mais à un autre endroit il est stipulé que la langue indigène visée est une des quatre *linguae francae* en usage dans la colonie (*ki.kongo*, *li.ngala*, *tshi.luba*, *ki.swahili*), qui, en

réalité, ne sont pas les langues maternelles des élèves. On ajoute : Les instituteurs urbains devront apprendre la langue nationale très convenablement et continuer à se perfectionner dans cette langue ; aux instituteurs ruraux il suffira d'entretenir les notions acquises à l'école normale. Mais ces notions ne sont pas spécifiées dans le programme !

Le nouveau projet de 1938 introduit des modifications importantes et traite expressément de l'emploi des langues. D'un côté il contient une déclaration de principe : " L'enseignement en langue européenne se heurte à des objections sérieuses d'ordre pédagogique." Et plus loin : " Dans maints centres les indigènes témoignent d'un vrai engouement pour la langue européenne. Il est indiqué de tirer parti de cette disposition, mais ce serait une erreur regrettable de sacrifier la formation générale et surtout la formation au travail à une connaissance linguistique dont l'utilité pratique serait nulle ; si elle ne sert pas de complément à une formation générale."

D'autre part tout en conservant à la langue européenne la place qu'elle occupe dans le programme de 1929, le nouveau projet ajoute une petite " remarque générale " : " Dans les localités ou, en raison de circonstances locales (hétérogénéité du milieu indigène, ou conditions d'opportunité locale) il apparaît difficile ou inopportun d'ériger un dialecte indigène au rang de langue véhiculaire de l'enseignement, on pourra prendre une des langues nationales comme langue véhiculaire à tous les degrés." Ce qui veut dire en bon français : l'emploi de langue européenne est admise dans toutes les écoles primaires des deux degrés. Comme l'a fait remarquer un critique très averti et expérimenté (A. Maus, *Congo*, " c'est la porte ouverte à tous les abus " . Il ne faut pas être grand clerc pour comprendre que, dans les circonstances congolaises, c'est la voie vers la francisation complète de tout l'enseignement. Tandis que le programme de 1929 indiquait le français comme branche facultative dès la première année du premier degré, le nouveau projet l'admet comme langue véhiculaire de tout l'enseignement.

L'enseignement de français est justifiée par

" l'intérêt supérieur qu'il y a à créer un lien linguistique entre les indigènes et la métropole, à mettre à la portée de l'élite des populations indigènes notre patrimoine intellectuel, à faciliter les rapports entre colonisés et Européens." Quoique non exprimé par les textes on peut, à notre avis, mettre difficilement en doute un motif supplémentaire : parer à l'influence d'autres colonies africaines et d'états étrangers.¹³

Quant aux langues indigènes le projet pose comme principes que l'importance de certains dialectes locaux parlés par un nombre considérable d'indigènes, " justifie l'impression de manuels classiques spéciaux et la formation d'un personnel enseignant en ces dialectes." Ensuite : " Pour autant que la lingua franca se rapproche du dialecte local, c'est sans conteste à la première qu'il convient de donner la préférence, même à l'école rurale." Enfin : " Les élèves de l'école primaire du second degré devraient apprendre au moins quelques éléments de la langue commerciale en usage dans leur région."

Dans l'application le projet attache encore plus d'importance aux *linguae francae* que dans la déclaration de principe précédente. Dès le premier degré la lingua franca est imposée comme branche à enseigner. De la comparaison des divers textes il appert que la langue maternelle est exclue comme matière à enseigner.

On voit par là l'importance attribuée par le Service de l'enseignement aux langues intertribales. S'il s'agissait de véritables langues communes littéraires basées sur les dialectes formant une langue au sens scientifique, à l'instar des langues communes en Europe, très peu d'objections pourraient être formulées. Il est bien possible que les auteurs du projet aient eu en vue pareilles langues. Cependant les textes ne l'indiquent point ; ils restent dans le vague et même prêtent à confusion, puisqu'ils mettent p. ex. le *li.ngala* sur le même pied que le *ki.kongo* et le *tshi.luba*. Aussi, cette confusion a-t-elle été l'objet de critiques serrées. (A. Maus : *Congo*, 1939, I, p. 9 ss.—L. v. P. : *Kongo-Overzee* IV, p. 223, et : V, p. 188 ; —Réponse : O. Liesenborgs : *Kongo Overzee*, V, p. 73).

L'influence de ces critiques est visible dans un

nouveau projet à l'étude. Les auteurs y soulignent la difficulté des situations de fait. Ils se sont manifestement donné de la peine pour éclaircir la question. Mais ils n'ont pas réussi à sortir de la confusion, à notre avis parce qu'ils ne se sont pas ralliés aux critiques autorisées. On peut regretter que pour ce point particulier, qualifié cependant d'important, on n'ait pas cru devoir accepter l'opinion de linguistes, pourtant spécialistes dans la matière, tandis que les auteurs—on peut le dire sans faire tort à personne—ne peuvent être considérés comme tels, quelle que soit leur compétence dans les autres questions scolaires.

La négligence des langues indigènes et l'importance croissante attribuée à la langue européenne peuvent être mises en relation avec l'évolution générale de la colonie. A présent l'indigénisme est en recul devant l'eupéanisation.

Après le discrédit de l'impérialisme politique, peut-être bientôt suivi par le déclin de l'impérialisme économique, on tend, dans les colonies comme dans les pays indépendants, à se rabattre sur l'impérialisme culturel, dont la question linguistique est un de plus forts atouts. Il est bien possible, voire probable, qu'un jour nous assisterons à une réaction ; mais à présent le vent est favorable aux langues européennes et défavorable aux valeurs indigènes, au Congo Belge comme dans les autres colonies africaines.

NOTES

1. *Le Plus Ancien Dictionnaire Bantu* : Vocabularium P. Georgii Gelensis ; édité par J. van Wing et C. Penders, S.J. ; *Bibliothèque Congo*, vol. XXVII, Louvain, 1928.—Voir aussi : B. O. Tanghe : *Aequatoria*, Coquilhatville, Vol. VIII, 1945, p. 36.
2. Cfr. A. de Clercq ; *Kongo-Overzee*, III, 1936, p. 241.
3. *Kongo-Overzee*, IV, 1938, p. 233 ss. (O. Liesenborghs)
4. Cfr. *Aequatoria*, III, 1940, p. 36 ss.
5. Cfr. *Aequatoria*, III, 1940, n. 5.
6. *Kongo-Overzee*, IV, 1938, p. 248.
7. *Congo*, 1939, I, p. 9 ss. (A. Maus) ; *Kongo-Overzee*, V, 1939, p. 188 ss. (L. v.P.)
8. *Aequatoria*, VI, 1943, p. 37 ss. (G. Hulstaert.)
9. O. Liesenborghs ; *Kongo-Overzee*, V, 1939, p. 74 ; G. Hulstaert, ib. III, 1936, p. 49.— Dans le grand public rares sont ceux qui ont une idée nette et précise sur la différence entre *langue* et *dialecte*. Un jugement objectif est rendu difficile non seulement par l'insuffisance de notre connaissance des idiomes indigènes, mais aussi par le fait que la majorité des Blancs ne connaissent comme langues européennes que des langues "officielles," "littéraires" et ignorent la situation dialectale réelle de leur propres pays.
10. Pour de plus amples détails, voir : De Jonghe : *Congo*, 1933, II, p. 509 ; id. : *Bulletin des Séances de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge*, VI, 1935, p. 340 ; E. Boelaert : *Kongo-Overzee*, II, 1936, p. 240 ; P. Van Reeth : *Elckerlyc*, 11.1.37 ; G. Hulstaert : *Kongo-Overzee*, III, p. 55.
11. D'après une communication privée, il semble que les missions protestantes voudraient adopter le Ngbandi.
12. A divers endroits il est parlé de "la langue nationale" ou "d'une des langues nationales". Cette expression est, semble-t-il, employée à cause des deux langues qui partagent la Belgique : le français et le néerlandais. Par ces textes donc la légalité belge est sauvegardée et l'impression évitée de favoriser une des langues. Les textes détaillés parlent cependant uniquement du français, qui est d'ailleurs la seule langue européenne admise de fait.
13. Cfr. Programme p. 22.

NATIVE LANGUAGES AND EUROPEANS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

Outside of missionary circles, few Europeans have acquired command of the Native African languages proper. The so-called trade or intertribal languages are the main media of communication between most Africans and most Europeans, and in many cases between Africans speaking

mutually unintelligible languages. These *linguae francae* are each based upon one or more of a group of dialects or closely-related languages, but are always much simplified in grammar and reduced in vocabulary. They have borrowed considerably from other dialect-groups and other languages, including other *linguae francae* and also French. They are by no means standardized, but vary considerably from area to area in which they are used. There are four main ones, usually known as Ki.Kongo, Li.Ngala, Tshi.Luba, and Ki.Swahili or Ki.Ngwana respectively ; and each covers one of the four main administrative divisions of the country. Li.Ngala is in a special position, being used in the armed forces. The trade languages are gaining ground in some areas: elsewhere, they are apparently at least not losing any. Here and there among the younger generation of Africans the indigenous tongues are being replaced by the inter-tribal languages. They are fairly extensively used as media of instruction in education ; but their inadequacy, in most cases, for expressing any but a very limited range of ideas renders their development imperative. On the question of this development there are two opposing schools among missionaries, coinciding roughly with denominational differences: the Catholic missions prefer a process of re-Bantuiza-

tion of the trade languages, the Protestants prefer to use them as they are, with only necessary extensions in vocabulary. One reason for the use of trade-languages by educational agencies such as missions is to be sought in the multiplicity of the indigenous languages, though this has probably been considerably exaggerated ; and also in the fact that missions usually cover multilingual areas. The solutions that have been proposed for simplifying the linguistic situation by concentrating upon a single dominant language, whether a unified form of one of the major African tongues proper or a developed form of one of the trade languages, have not found favour. There is no uniform declared Government policy on the question: the Government's attitude has to be deduced from scattered regulations and from the practice of its officials. These regulations and that practice lend colour to the view that the Government does not mean to encourage indigenous African speech as such ; that, for the time being, it prefers educational and other civilizing agencies to employ trade-languages in their contacts with Africans ; and that the official languages—predominantly French—should find an increasing place in these contacts, especially in the larger centres.

PROVERBS COLLECTED FROM THE AMANDEBELE

By K. D. LEAVER ; EDITED By C. L. S. NYEMBEZI

The following is a list of Ndebele proverbs collected from the Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia, recorded and translated by Det. Sgt. Leaver, C.I.D. from his informants Phillip Moyo and Mafatshe Moyo, resident at Kezi and Gwaai areas respectively.

In working through these proverbs I have retained the translator's original version wherever possible, only essential changes being made. As the Ndebele are an offshoot of the Zulu nation most of the proverbs tally with those found among the Zulu. Where difference exists, this is pointed out under the proverb in question. Otherwise the recorder's text is retained.

I have however changed the orthography of the proverbs and where the syntactical construction of Ndebele differs from that of Zulu a note to that effect is added.

1. *Inkomo ehambayo kayigedi utshani* (The beast which travels does not eat a lot of grass).

If a traveller calls at your homestead, feed him ; it won't break you.

N.B. The proverb reads better in Zulu when the initial *u-* of *utshani* is deleted after a negative verb ; hence : *Inkomo ehambayo kayigedi-tshani*.

2. *Udiwo lufuz' imbiza* (The small pot is like the large one). Like father like son.

3. *Isisu somhambi singangophonjwana lwembuzi* (The stomach of a traveller is as big as a small horn of a goat).

A traveller will be grateful for anything which might be offered him.

Zulu would have *Isisu somhambi kasingakanani, singangophonjwana lwembuzi*.

N.B. The recorder states that "the small horn is used as comparison, presumably because it is the smallest receptacle the Native can think of, for holding food."

4. *Udla usesulela phansi njengenkuku* (You eat and wipe your mouth on the ground like a fowl).

One who gives an impression of being satisfied when he is not ; It may also mean : "to hunt with the hounds and run with the hares."

N.B. The construction *usesulela phansi* would not be correct in Zulu, as the exclusive formative *se* should be followed by a participial mood of the 2nd person beginning with *u* and would be *ususulela*. The correct Zulu version of this proverb is *Udla wesulela phansi njengenkuku*.

5. *Ungexoshe mpala mbili* (You cannot chase two gazelles). Do one thing at a time.

6. *Akulamuzi ongelaliba* (There is no kraal without a grave). Death is everywhere.

N.B. Ndebele, like Swazi, uses *la* where Zulu and Xhosa use *na* as a conjunctive formative. Hence in Zulu the proverb would read : *Akulamuzi ongenaliba*. Zulu has also : *Akumango ungenaliba*, synonymous with the foregoing.

7. *Umuzi muhle ngaphandle* (The kraal is fine outside).

(a) A person may be fine outwardly but corrupt at heart.

(b) Fine buildings may harbour wicked inmates.

N.B. A proverb employing the same vocabulary and having the same meaning does not exist in Zulu. In Sotho, however, there is a proverb : *Motse o motle liotloane feela*, which has the same meaning as this Ndebele proverb.

8. *Inxeba lendoda kalihlekwa* (A man's wound is not to be laughed at).

Do not laugh at other people's sorrows and misfortunes.

9. *Ungumganu kawomi* (You are a plate which does not dry).

Living in one place, all your neighbours will be friendly and will keep you ; your plate will always be damp with food.

N.B. Whereas *umganu* in Ndebele has the modern concept of a "plate," it is doubtful if the proverb originates from the explanation given by the recorder. Literally the proverb in Zulu

would mean : " an *umganu* tree never gets dry," i.e. " your age does not tell on you."

10. *Ubukhosi ngamazolo* (Kingship is dew).
Everything has an end.

11. *Isondo lesilwana kalilandwa* (The spoor of the lion is not followed).

Keep away from dangerous things.

N.B. The nearest approach to this that Zulu has is : *Isambane kasilandelwa* (The antbear is not followed).

12. *Unyambili njengombankwa* (You produce two kinds of stools like a lizard).

You are a turncoat ; you cannot decide.

13. *Oginya amaganu ngolomdidi obanzi* (He who swallows the new *marula* nut has a large anus).

He trusts himself who deliberately exposes himself to danger.

N.B. The relative copulative *ngolomdidi* would read in Zulu *ngonomdidi*. There is no trace of this proverb in Zulu.

14. *Uxamu kadaḁuki* (The monitor lizard does not burst).

He eats until his stomach is distended yet does not burst, like a man who can receive bad news without showing his sorrow.

N.B. I am inclined to disagree with the interpretation here given. What seems apparent to me is that the recorder is not aware of the fact that the word *daḁuka* may mean one of two things, viz. " sorrow stricken " or " burst, torn ." I believe that the proverb means : " When afflicted with sorrow he does not outwardly show it."

15. *Ukuḁona kanye yikuḁona kabili* (To see once is to see twice).

Once bitten twice shy.

N.B. The Ndebele use the copulative prefixal formative *yi* before the verb infinitive which starts with the vowel *u*. In Zulu such a construction is not possible ; the tone is either lowered on the *u* or *ng* is preplaced before the vowel. Hence in Zulu the proverb would read : *Ukuḁona kanye ukuḁona* (or *ngukuḁona*) *kabili*.

16. *Umtwente uhlaḁa umila* (The thorny grass pierces from the time it begins growth).

(a) What one will be as an adult usually shows itself in childhood ; often used of a precocious child.

(b) One should try to acquire as much as possible whilst still young and able to acquire it easily.

N.B. The proverb in Zulu reads : *Umtwente uhlaḁa usamila*. The word *umtwente* is distorted.

17. *Ithole likhula lamafutha alo* (The calf grows with its fat).

Once a person is good or bad he grows that way ; once a liar, always a liar.

N.B. Here again we observe the use of *la* in Ndebele where Zulu employs *na*. In Zulu the proverb is : *Ithole likhula namafutha alo*. Zulu has another proverb almost identical to this one : *Inkomo ikhula namanoni ayo*.

18. *Kalini lingadumanga* (It does not rain without thunder).

There is no effect without cause ; no smoke without fire.

19. *Osemva ophambili* (He who is behind is in front).

Although behind you still have a chance to get ahead.

N.B. The proverb refers to change of fortune and therefore means : " Trust not the future, however pleasant it promises."

20. *Enyathele udaka inatile* (The beast which has stepped in the mud is watered).

If a man has fought and is covered with blood, it is useless his trying to plead ignorance, for the blood is on him.

N.B. A variant of this proverb is : *Uthelwe ngamachaphazela* (You have been sprinkled with drops).

21. *Imbokodo kayingeni kwelinye ilitshe elingasilayo* (The grinding stone will not fit into the stone which does not belong to it).

Do not put a square peg in a round hole.

22. *Olamanga kokhi umlilo ngexolo* (A liar does not carry fire on a piece of bark).

N.B. This proverb would read in Zulu : *Onamanga kokhi umlilo ngexolo*, meaning that one on the defensive is always fully armed.

23. *Igadigadi idiniwe* (The man who travels a lot is tired ; implying he will now settle down).

This is said of a man who turns over a new leaf.

N.B. In Zulu the proverb *Igadidiniwe* literally means, " He has drunk overmuch ". This does not mean turning over a new leaf, but is used of a person who has been worsted in an argument

and has been silenced. Xhosa has: *Ligadule ladinwa*, with the same meaning.

In the Ndebele record the word *igadigadi* is questionable. Turning a new leaf, as it may imply voluntary action, does not portray the mind behind the proverb.

24. *Imbiza kayibili ingelamkhwezeli* (The pot won't boil without a stoker).

Let bygoners be bygoners.

N.B. I do not agree with the version, "Let bygoners be bygoners". The nearest translation would be: "Keep the home fires burning."

Note again the use of *la* for Zulu *na* in *ingelamkhwezeli*. In Zulu the proverb would read: *Imbiza kayibili ingenamkhwezeli*.

25. *Ungumgodla ongelamehlo* (You are a sack without eyes).

You have no common sense; you can only do the thing you are shown.

N.B. Zulu: *Ungumgodla ongenamehlo*.

26. *Zimbila zantaba enye* (They are rock-rabbits of one mountain).

People of the same stock.

N.B. The Zulu rendering would be: *Yizimbila zantabanye*.

27. *Isambalindi singawulali* (The digger who digs a hole without sleeping in it, like the antbear).

One who acquires things for which he has no use.

N.B. The word *isambalindi* is compounded from *isamba* meaning a digger (Zulu: *isimba*) and *ilindi*, which would mean a "hole" in Ndebele. Closely allied to this Ndebele proverb is the Zulu proverb: *Isambane simba umgodi singawulali*.

28. *Umntwana ongakhaliyo ufela emhlana* (The child who does not cry dies on the back of the mother).

Ask and you shall receive.

There is a variant form in Zulu which reads: *Umntwana ongakhaliyo ufela embelekweni*.

29. *Kokwabanye nwayi nwayi, kokwakho finyo* (You stretch your hand to take other's goods but you are close-fisted regarding your own). Ready to receive, but not so ready to give.

N.B. The Zulu variant would be: *Kokomuntu nwayi nwayi, kokwakho gongo* (or *nqodo*).

30. *Umfazi kalankosi* (A woman has no king).

No man can manage a woman.

31. *Umkhunywa kalambonje* (The messenger has no wound).

The messenger is not responsible for the message he conveys.

N.B. The word *imbonje* (wound) found in Ndebele does not occur in Zulu and may be archaic. The Zulu proverb is: *Umkhunywa kanandaba* (The messenger has no "affair" or "fault").

32. *Isela ngelibanjweyo* (The thief is the one arrested).

Only when arrested may one be labelled a thief.

N.B. Zulu has no equivalent for this, but there is a proverb in Xhosa: *Isela lelibanjweyo*, which has the same meaning as the Ndebele proverb.

33. *Kalishoni lingelandaba zalo* (The sun never sets without its news). Each day has its troubles.

N.B. The common Zulu form is: *(Akulanga lashona lingenandaba zalo)*.

34. *Inkomo eyehlisayo kayiphili* (The cow which gives plenty of milk soon dies).

It often seems that good people die and bad people remain on earth.

N.B. An equivalent proverb in Zulu would be: *Isitsha esihle kasidleli*.

35. *Isalakutshelwa sibonwa ngomophelo* (He who refuses to be told is seen by the blood).

The obstinate learn by bitter experience. Heed what you are told.

N.B. Zulu uses *ngomopho*, not *ngomophelo*. Again Zulu commonly uses the simple verb stem *bona*, not its passive form.

36. *Isikhuni sizabuyela ngomkhwezeli* (The firebrand will return to the stoker and burn him).

One's evil deeds will recoil on oneself.

37. *Ukhozi olubambayo ngoluzulayo* (The eagle which catches prey is the one which hovers).

(a) Patience brings its own reward.

(b) You must work to succeed; idleness does not pay.

38. *Inkubu kayisindwa ngumboko wayo* (The elephant is not overwhelmed by its trunk).

Each individual is able to shoulder his own burden.

N.B. Ndebele employs the word *inkubu* instead of the Zulu *indlovu*. Otherwise the proverb is the same.

39. *Kayimithi ingaphindwanga* (It (cow) does not become pregnant without constant mating).

One helping is not enough. This is said by one asking for a second helping, e.g. when a man is drinking beer he will say this to his host, implying that one helping is not enough for him.

There is a Zulu proverb synonymous to the one above which reads: *Wangihlaba ngamkhonto munye* (You have stabbed me with one spear).

40. *Isithukuthuku senja siphelela oboyeni* (The dog's perspiration is absorbed by the hair).

One's hard work and efforts are not always apparent.

N.B. It is more correct to say *eboyeni* than *oboyeni* as *o-* is used for nouns of Class VI.

41. *Umlomo uchapha umfula ogcwele* (The mouth crosses a flooded river).

Actions speak louder than words.

N.B. Zulu does not have a proverb corresponding to this in Ndebele. *Umlomo*, however, does appear in the Zulu *Hhayingangamlomo*, which also means that actions speak louder than words. A proverb nearer in form to the Ndebele is: *Iso livela umfula ugwele*.

42. *Udwayi ufa lenziba zakhe* (The secretary bird dies with its feathers).

Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth. We all die no matter what we are worth or how handsome we are.

N.B. In Zulu the proverb would read: *Udoye ufa nezinsiba zakhe*.

43. *Ukudla kwabulala okaMlomboomvu* (Food killed Redmouth's daughter).

Do your job first and eat afterwards.

N.B. Zulu does not have a proverb corresponding to this in Ndebele, but Xhosa has *Ukutya kwabulala usiswana sibomvana*. The words are not identical but the meaning is the same, and the common origin is evident.

44. *Unyawo kalulampumulo* (The foot has no nose).

Treat a stranger well because you do not know where you may meet him again, when he will repay you for your kindness or unkindness.

N.B. In Zulu the proverb is *Unyawo kalunampumulo*.

45. *Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi* (The increase of people is refused by a wizard).

This is an expression of thanks. It implies that the more people there are, the more likely is one to obtain assistance.

46. *Iqaga kalizizwa ukunuka* (The polecat cannot smell himself).

Man cannot see his own faults.

47. *Indwangu zihlekana iziphongo* (Baboons laugh at each other's protruding heads).

It is the case of the pot calling the kettle black.

N.B. In Zulu the word *indwangu* means "cloth". Probably *indwangu* meaning "baboon" is an archaic Zulu form.

A proverb in Zulu with the same meaning as the above Ndebele form is *Usifumbu ubona uqhazela*.

48. *Ukupha omunye yikuzibekela* (Giving to another is to store up for oneself).

Cast thy bread upon the waters and thou shalt find it after many days.

N.B. In Zulu the proverb is *Ukupha omunye ngukuzibekela*.

49. *Ulunya lwabasha luyaphindana kodwa olwesalukazi luphindana ngezinkuni* (Cruelty of the young is revenged, but that of an old woman is revenged with firebrands).

Beware how you behave towards others as you may have the same treatment meted out to you.

N.B. I think the rendering of *olwesalukazi* should be *olwezalukazi*. Zulu has the same proverb as Ndebele although the more common Zulu form is *Ulunya lwabasha luyaphindana, olwezalukazi luphindana ngogwayi*.

50. *Okuvuthiweyo kubolile* (That which is ripe is rotten).

Don't store ripe food; share it with others.

N.B. Zulu does not have a proverb corresponding to this Ndebele one. In Xhosa, however, we have *Kuvuthiwe-nje kubolile*, which has exactly the same meaning as the Ndebele proverb.

51. *Umzenzi kakhalekwa kukhalekwa umenziwa* (Nobody cries for him who puts himself in a bad spot, but the one who has been wronged is sympathised with).

Don't expect sympathy for something you have brought on yourself.

N.B. Zulu uses the word *uzenzile*, not *umzenzi*. Again *umenziwa* has a variant *uzumekile*. Thus the Zulu form reads *Uzenzile kakhalekwa, kukhalekwa uzumekile*.

OBITUARY

DR. P. E. SCHWELLNUS

On 2 March 1946 Dr. Paul Erdmann Schwellnus died in Pretoria at the age of sixty-nine. He was a man who had a deep insight into Native life. He spoke Tshivenda before he was able to speak German and when, as a boy, he spoke Venda to his parents, was often soundly thrashed. So well did he know the language of these people of the Northern Transvaal that when he was a student in Germany he was able to compile a vocabulary of the Venda verbs with his brother Theodor and indicate the tonal pronunciation of these verbs. He also had a very extensive knowledge of the laws and customs of the Venda. This knowledge he was able to apply later amongst the various tribes to whom he preached the Gospel.

He worked amongst the Tswana, Karanga, Venda and Pedi people of Southern Africa. He spoke all of these languages as well as Zulu and Shangaan. Because of his knowledge of these languages and his natural ability as a teacher he became the director of the Botšabelo Institute. He was then appointed literary director of the Berlin Lutheran Mission and, during the war, took up the superintendency of the Southern Transvaal Synod and the directorship for the whole work of the mission in the Union and Swaziland.

Some of his colleagues were interned at the beginning of the war but the work had to be continued. It was in no small measure due to his ability and understanding that the work of the mission was continued without any friction during these difficult years. Under his superintendency further schools, hospitals, and churches were built and the work of these institutions carried to the people they served.

His work was not limited to preaching the Gospel alone. He took a much wider view of his duties. It was always his earnest endeavour to interpret the new civilization in a reasonable way. He could not have done this in any better way than by developing the language and giving it its rightful place in the education of the African people. It is a direct result of his work that those

who have been trained by him are not ashamed of their language and do not despise it as too primitive for the expression of modern ideas. Rather he and his successors at Botšabelo have tried to get the students to develop their languages and use them as much as possible. It has always been the policy of the missionaries of the society to learn the Native dialects. Many of the younger missionaries were trained by him.

Most of all his industry is apparent in the work he has done for the children of the Transvaal. He spoke at teachers' conferences to explain vernacular terminologies to the teachers. He wrote two grammars, one in Pedi and one in Venda, for which he invented vernacular terminologies and these are, I believe, widely used in schools to-day.

He is also responsible with his brother, Th. Schwellnus, for a policy under which the institutions of Native life have not been recklessly discarded under the impact of the new civilization. He was instrumental in retaining many customs and their underlying philosophies and in interpreting them in a Christian way.

Dr. Schwellnus was educated at the seminary in Berlin. It was while he was receiving this instruction that he and his brother met the late Professor Carl Meinhof to whom they gave much information about the languages of the Union, especially Venda. During this time they compiled the vocabulary of Venda verbs which was edited by Professor Meinhof. For his birthday they presented him with this collection. Meinhof was both pleased and displeased with this collection because, according to Dr. Schwellnus, "it forces me to reconsider my theories on Bantu tone" !

Schwellnus was first sent to Mashonaland to work amongst the Karanga people. When this work was taken over by the Dutch Reformed Mission, he worked for a short while amongst the Venda and was then transferred to Botšabelo Training College and Seminary. From this institute have graduated nearly 1,000 teachers, 600 evangelists and 30,000 scholars. Finally, his

literary work became so important that he was appointed to the literary directorship of the mission and was then transferred to Pretoria. Here he completed his translations and revisions of the Venda and Pedi Bibles and their hymn-books. He edited the Nededede, Ndededzi (formerly Mudededzi) and Padišo readers, writing much of these himself. He was also active on behalf of Native authors, helping such as Ramaila, Machaba and Phala in the publication of their work.

One of his keenest interests was the recognition of the forgotten mission schools. These small units of education, carrying the message of the three R's to a relatively small group at disproportionate cost, were in his opinion the most

important. They carried a message of freedom to those otherwise confined in closed areas.

He always emphasized the importance of the work done by all missions for the Native peoples. He contended that the state was not yet ready to give the African people their rightful place and that the missions were the only organizations fulfilling the functions of the state.

It is in these facets of his work that his greatness lay. His death will be keenly felt by all those who knew him, a large number of Africans and Europeans. I can say no more than the work he has done shows, and I feel that by carrying out his most ardent wishes and thoughts we will pay our tribute to the greatness of his work.

E. WESTPHAL.

CORRECTIONS

In the article "The So-Called Article in Xhosa" by W. Bourquin Vol. 5. No. 1 March 1946 the following corrections should be made:—

Page 24, second column, line 30:

"influence of the *noun*" in place of "influence of the union."

Page 29, first column, line 13;

"Ningamfumana phi in place of "Ningafumana phi".

Page 41, first column, line 21:

"umlilo, fire, and iintolo, arrows have *got* the initial vowel" in place of "have not the initial vowel".

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

PROFESSOR G. P. LESTRADE holds the chair of Bantu languages in the University of Cape Town.

DR. W. M. EISELEN is chief inspector of Native education in the Transvaal.

PROFESSOR B. I. C. VAN EEDEN holds the chair of Bantu languages in the University of Stellenbosch.

THE REV. W. BOURQUIN is a missionary working among the Xhosa in East Griqualand.

DR. M. D. W. JEFFREYS spent many years in the British colonial service in West Africa. He is now senior lecturer in social anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand.

MESSRS. L. MQOTSI AND N. MKELE are research students at the South African Native College at Fort Hare.

THE REV. G. HULSTAERT, for many years a missionary in the Belgian Congo, is the editor of the journal *Aequatoria* and author of several books on Bantu languages of the Congo.